FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-010
Friday
15 January 1993

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FBIS-EEU-93-010 *15 January 1993*

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Berisha Calls Raid on Iraq 'Merited Reply'

AU1401195893 Tirana ATA in English 1907 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 14 (ATA)—The air raid of the U.S.A. and the allies against the military objectives of Iraq on Januarv 13 was a merited reply to the violence that dictator Saddam Husayn employed towards the allies and international rules, President Sali Berisha told the ATA reporter on January 14. Further on, President Berisha added that this attack will remind other dictators that they are not tolerated in case they do not observe the international rules and principles to be indispensably observed by all the states, despite their regimes.

Foreign Minister Discusses Kosovo Issue

NC1401180993 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 11 Jan 93 p 5

[Interview with Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi by Samih 'Abdallah in Athens; date not given]

[Text] ['Abdallah] What will Albania's stand be if war breaks out in Kosovo?

[Serreqi] We are trying with all means available to reach a peaceful solution to the problem through dialogue. One of the ideas my government is proposing is the disarmament of Kosovo and a permanent international presence to maintain security and peace. Then, we want to start a dialogue between the legitimate representatives of the Albanians there and the Serbian Government under international supervision—let it be the Geneva conference—to find a final solution. We believe that the final solution to Yugoslavia's problem will be impossible if Albanian rights in Kosovo are not taken into account. The international community should know that the time for dedicated diplomacy is running out.

['Abdallah] Would a return to the autonomy system that was canceled be a solution acceptable to the two sides?

[Serreqi] This is not an issue of discussion. The matter should be discussed by the legitimate representatives in Albania and the Serbs.

['Abdallah] But as a neighboring country, you are interested in the issue and must have a stand.

[Serreqi] We believe that a solution acceptable to both sides needs to be reached. We will accept whatever the Albanians there accept.

['Abdallah] Do you believe that Milosevic's reelection as president of Yugoslavia [as published] reduces the possibility of reaching a peaceful solution?

[Serreqi] It is difficult to see these elections as democratic because they were held in a communist country where dictatorship, the army, and the party control everything.

['Abdallah] An official in Kosovo stressed that Albania will not remain silent if fighting erupts in Kosovo. What is your comment on this?

[Serreqi] Albania and Yugoslavia are neighboring countries. But Albania has a unique position because half its population—3 million people—are suffering under military occupation, apartheid, and repression (he means the Kosovo inhabitants). Albania will not be the only country to intervene if a conflict erupts. All the neighboring countries might do the same thing. That is why the international community must do all it can to ensure that the war does not spread to Kosovo. If it does spread, it will not be limited to Kosovo's borders only.

['Abdallah] Which countries do you believe will intervene in the conflict?

[Serreqi] You know the history of the Balkans and what happened in World Wars I and II. The international community must prevent the fighting from spreading.

['Abdallah] What measures do you propose to prevent the fighting from spreading?

[Serreqi] The international community has, in fact, taken several resolutions; the problem is in the implementation. The international community has to exert strong pressure on the Serbian Government.

['Abdallah] Militarily?

[Serreqi] Why not? There is a resolution banning the flight of planes over Bosnia-Hercegovina; however, it is violated constantly.

['Abdallah] If military intervention does take place, what will the Albanians in Kosovo gain?

[Serreqi] It would curb Milosevic's military capabilities.

['Abdallah] Albanians in Kosovo boycotted the recent elections in Yugoslavia. Do you have an explanation for that? Would it not have been more useful to have voted for Panic, Milosevic's rival, instead of being negative?

[Serreqi] Panic, like Milosevic, has offered nothing to Albanians in Kosovo. That is why Albanians boycotted the elections.

['Abdallah] Europe viewed with skepticism your recent step of joining the Islamic Conference Organization [ICO]. How do you view this European concern?

[Serreqi] The ICO is the second largest international organization after the United Nations. Our joining it does not pose a threat to neighboring countries. Our Constitution stipulates that we are not a religious state. Our participation was in line with constitutional provisions. Do not forget that Turkey, a secular state, is an ICO member. We are a European state, not only in geographical terms, but in mentality.

['Abdallah] How do you view the issue of recognizing Macedonia, which might enhance tension in the Balkans as well?

[Serreqi] Albania believes that an independent, sovereign, and democratic Macedonia is an ingredient of stability in the Balkan region. However, our recognition of Macedonia depends on the extent to which Albanians living there will get rights. It is known that 40 percent of this republic's population have Albanian roots. Therefore, our condition on recognizing Macedonia is that the Albanians there receive a constitutional guarantee that their rights will be respected. This issue is more important to us than the name. We believe that the name problem can be solved through a compromise.

['Abdallah] There is no truth, then, to reports that you recently recognized Macedonia?

[Serreqi] This has not happened.

['Abdallah] What about Serbian accusation that you are seeking to create a Greater Albania by annexing Kosovo?

[Serreqi] We have declared that we respect current borders and are opposed to changing them. This means that we do not seek a Greater Albania. However, we aspire for the future integration of the region in the same way Europe is being integrated at present. We believe that the Balkans have a future in this context. The integration of one people who are divided into two will naturally be easier.

['Abdallah] To what extent do you believe that war is coming to the region?

[Serreqi] The threat posed by Milosevic to the region's people is not military occupation, because the region is already occupied. Milosevic will undertake an ethnic cleansing process to curb the Albanian density and bring Serbian settlers from other areas to colonize the region. We believe that it is the international community's duty not to be lenient in the face of such actions. All the democratic states are responsible for helping and protecting Albanians there.

['Abdallah] Is it true that 50,000 Albanians have recently left the region?

[Serreqi] Yes, in an attempt to escape. The Serbs will try to trigger further immigration by waging war.

['Abdallah] Have you received Albanian refugees who used to live in the region?

[Serreqi] Not yet. However, if war breaks out, we will receive thousands of refugees, and we will not be able to close the doors in the face of our brothers. I would like to explain to the international community, however, that if war breaks out in Kosovo it would show Milosevic's unacceptable intentions to create a Greater Serbia that includes Macedonia within its borders. This would force the world to face a major Balkan problem.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Ukraine

AU1401164493 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] The agreement to establish diplomatic relations at an ambassadorial level between the Republic of Albania and Ukraine was signed yesterday.

Joint Agreements Testify To Open Foreign Policy

AU1401165093 Tirana ATA in English 1122 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 14 (ATA)—After a half a century isolation under dictatorship, Albania is already open to the world. Its foreign policy testifies to its will and commitment to join the European civilized states. A proof to this are also over 50 bilateral agreements, international protocols and conventions signed last year.

Of special importance are the agreements for the economic, trade, and financial cooperation with the European Community, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the air transport with Italy, Germany, and Austria, etc. Protocols are signed with such countries as Italy, Turkey, Greece, Austria, Bulgaria, Romania, etc., for abolishing visas for the diplomatic passports and service. Here are not included lots of agreements and protocols on cooperation amongst the departments with Albania and different states. We were told at the Department of Judicial, Consullory Affairs, and International Treaty Departments at the Foreign Ministry that 30 other agreements are under way. They are sent to different departments and cover economy, culture, defence, and foreign relations.

Croatian Assembly Chairman Mesic Continues Visit

Meets Assembly Chairman Arbnori

AU1401152093 Tirana ATA in English 0928 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 14 (ATA)—The chairman of the Croatian Parliament Stjepan Mesic arrived in Tirana on January 13. Pjeter Arbnori, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, had a meeting with him. They talked of the promotion of the relations between the two countries, the two parliaments, as well as on the situation in the region. Mr. Arbnori told his homologue on the main directions of the foreign policy of the Albanian state, whose aim is to join Europe. He also pointed out that Albania wants to consolidate relations not only with the big states but also with smaller and new ones such as Croatia. Albania aims to have good relations with it in various fields. Albania has good relations with the countries of the Balkan region, Mr. Arbnori said, except Serbia, which through its policy proves to be a factor of destabilization not only in former Yugoslavia but also in the region. Albania and Croatia, he said further on, are contributing through their policy to peace in the Balkans, which is seriously threatened by Serbia, the possible

move towards the south, Kosovo and Macedonia. Mr. Arbnori pointed out that the democratic movement in Albania and the one going on in Kosovo have common characteristics. Democracy in Albania triumphed without any violence or bloodshed.

Kosovo is following the same road to realise its demands. Besides, the chairman of the Albanian parliament acquainted the Croatian colleague with the present efforts for the creation of the new legislation of the state, with the difficulties the economy is encountering. In this context he guaranteed Mr. Mesic for the Croatian investments in Albania. A positive factor for the consolidation of the relations between our two countries, Mr. Arbnori said, is the existence of the Albanian population in Croatia. The chairman of the Croatian parliament said that with Milosevic's coming to power in Serbia, the totalitarian system of a communist, extremely nationalistic type, has been established there. It fought everything not Serbian and is applying a policy similar to that of Hitler. The first to suffer from this policy were those who were not Serbians, such as the Albanians, Croatian, Bosnians. It is a bad luck that the world did not learn in time what was happening in Yugoslavia. If war bursts in Kosovo, he said, it will be of extraordinary consequences, with great destructions, because a big Serbian military machine is there. Therefore, it is necessary that our bilateral relations be harmonized for more frequent and efficient actions. Mr. Mesic pointed out also that our two states that experienced socialism should find those possibilities of development which carried Europe forward, ownership, and the free market. We should adopt those laws which instigate investments in our both countries. Mr. Mesic invited for a visit in Croatia Mr. Arbnori, which was accepted with pleasure.

Meets Defense Minister Zhulali

AU1401161493 Tirana ATA in English 0931 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 14 (ATA)—Our both countries are in a turbulent region and are living difficult situations which need cool-headedness to be overcome them, the Minister of Defence Safet Zhulali said among others in the talk he had with Mr. Mesic, chairman of the Croatian parliament. Albania has just passed from the dictatorship to democracy and needs peace more than anybody else. Although economically weak, we are trying to be prepared for any situation. Our objective is to solve the problems through dialogue, but we cannot tolerate the ethnic purging in Kosovo. Mr. Zhulali stressed that the stand of the international community in the case of Bosnia may be more active. Then, he concentrated on the possibilities existing in the cooperation between Albania and Croatia in the field of defence.

Meets Assembly Foreign Policy Chairman

AU1401161593 Tirana ATA in English 0936 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 14 (ATA)—The chairman of the Parliamentary Commission of the Foreign Policy of the People's Assembly, Eduart Selami, met on January 13 the chairman of the Croatian parliament, Stjepan Mesic, and the delegation he leads.

Mr. Eduard Selami valued the visit of the Croatian parliamentary delegation as a sign of good cooperation between the two countries. We are interested, he said, in the consolidation of the relations with Croatia, as states of the Balkans, to coordinate forces for the consolidation of democracy, for peace and security in the region. We, as a parliamentary Commission of Foreign Policy, have undertaken the initiative for peace and understanding in the region.

Further on, Mr. Selami voiced the worry over the escalation of fightings in Bosnia-Hercegovina and for the genocide of the Serbian chauvinists towards the Albanian people of Kosovo. The international community has not made as much as it should to prevent the war in the region. The hand of Serbia chauvinism cannot be halted only through negotiations, but also through restrictive measures. We, as part of the Balkans, should work more so that international community be totally engaged in the solution of the crisis and the prevention of war. Mr. Selami pointed out that if a possible war extends in Kosovo, it would be of unprecedented consequences.

Taking the floor, the chairman of the Croatian Parliament Stjepan Mesic spoke on the tragedy in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the difficult situation for the Albanians in Kosovo, blaming for this the Serbian chauvinism and Slobodan Milosevic. The Serbs, he said, are considering the Yugoslav Army as their own army and through it they are trying to realise the dream of Great Serbia. They are exerting pressure on the Albanian population to abandon the country. He agreed with the opinion of Mr. Selami that a strong pressure is needed in order to paralyse Serbia.

Holds Talks With President Berisha

AU1401195993 Tirana ATA in English 1914 GMT 14 Jan 93

["Consolidation of Political and Economic Cooperation Is a Common Desire of Albania and Croatia"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 14 (ATA)—This was the message of the meeting of January 14 between the President of the Republic Sali Berisha and the Chairman of the Croatian Parliament Stipe Mesic.

President Berisha stressed the desire of Albania to build a Balkans based on European principles of co-existence and cooperation. In this process, Albania demands the promotion of relations with democratic republics of former Yugoslavia, such as Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia. He voiced the confidence that democratization of Serbia would make that country a reliable partner in the process of the Balkan integration. A difference should be made for the Montenegro, because within its possibilities

it is trying to protect the interests of its citizens and come out of the course of the Belgrade suicidal policy. In regard to the conflict in Bosnia, President Berisha said that only a fierce stand of the international community towards Serbia can halt the aggression and massacres in Bosnia. In fact, there is no difference between Saddam Husayn and the Serbian dictators in power.

The situation in Kosovo was also treated of in the meeting. President Berisha said that Albania does not demand a change of borders, but only avoidance of war and finding of a political solution for this problem. The independence of Macedonia is also an indispensable step for the consolidation of the stability in the region. President Berisha voiced his satisfaction for the progress made in the recognition of the rights of the Albanian community in that republic.

Regarding the Albanian-Croatian relations, President Berisha said that in order to intensify further the bilateral contacts, the Albanian embassy will soon be opened in Zagreb. He also hopes that the proposals made by the Croatian party on energy, agriculture, trade, and other fields will be materialised.

Mr. Mesic conveyed to President Berisha the greetings of the Croatian President Tudjman. He voiced his satisfaction for the fruitful meetings he had in Tirana. Regarding the situation in the region, he underlined that both countries had identical opinions and on this basis, they should consolidate the political cooperation.

Joint Statement Issued After Visit

AU1501104493 Tirana ATA in English 0922 GMT 15 Jan 93

["Albanian-Croatian Joint Statement"]

[Text] Tirana, January 15 (ATA)—A delegation of the parliament of the Republic of Croatia, led by the chairman of this parliament, Mr. Stipe Mesic, paid an official friendly visit to the Republic of Albania from January 13-14, 1993 invited by Pjeter Arbnori, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly. At the meetings and negotiations with senior personalities of the People's Assembly and the Albanian Government opinions were exchanged on the current situation in the Balkans, particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. Both parties upheld the same views for putting out the flames of destructive war in former Yugoslavia. They accepted that a more pressing pressure by the European Community on the chauvinistic-communist policy of Serbia and ongoing talks to find out the optimal ways to establish peace are currently the most effective means to stabilize the situation. The outburst of war in Kosovo would have unprecedented consequences on the peoples of the Balkans and Europe.

The promotion of economic and cultural cooperation between Albania and Croatia is a common desire of both parties. They exchanged views and made concrete proposals in regard to Croatian investments on tourism and the increase of export-import, the establishment of joint ventures in the research and production of oil and gas, the processing of metals, transportation, etc.

The Albanians in Croatia are a factor of peace and a bridge between the cultures of our two peoples.

Mr. Arbnori welcomed the invitation by Mr. Mesic to visit Croatia. This visit will contribute to the strengthening of the relations between our two parliaments.

The visit of the Croatian parliamentary delegation to the Republic of Albania was a full success.

Alia, Former Leaders Testify at Hoxha's Trial

AU1401165293 Tirana ATA in English 1115 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 14 (ATA)—January 13 was the fifth day of the trial of the widow of the dictator Enver Hoxha, 72, who is in the defendants' bench accused of abuses for great sums of money to the detriment of the state economy, along with Kino Buxheli, 38, who has been head of the Reception Department for nearly 5 years also accused of abuses of the state property in great sums of money.

The sittings of this day were somewhat different from others when a great number of persons who had served in the Block [reference to housing where communist leaders lived] testified. On January 13, the persons who were brought as witnesses were those who had compiled, adopted, and violated the laws, have given orders and prepared everything for the paradise in the Block. Co-fighters and collaborators of the top of the pyramid testified for one another.

In the second sitting of January 13, the former first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and former president of Albania Ramiz Alia (actually in house arrest) was summoned to witness in the court. He said among others: Important is the fact that my viewpoint has been that Hoxha family should have a special treatment, because Enver Hoxha has been the commander and leader of our people for 50 years. For this reason he should be treated like a high personality, just like the state has acted with the heroes and martyrs of the war. Furthermore, he said, I know that Enver Hoxha has not left any movable and immovable property, neither land or house to his family.

During his answers, asked of special aspects when the Political Bureau or the Council of Ministers did not issue decisions on the unlimited treatment of the Hoxha family (after Enver Hoxha's death), he had a replique with the prosecutor of the indictment.

To the question by the defendant Nexhmije Hoxha in regard with a talk on the treatment of her family, he replied that he didn't remember anything of it, but he said he accepts everything she said. This because this has been my conviction for the treatment of this family. In the replique with the prosecutor and the witness Ramiz

Alia, the presiding judge intervened and after explaining the position of the two in the court, asked the witness if the latter had prepared or adopted any document, order or law for the treatment of Hoxha family after 1985, because according to the existing law of 1983, only the members of the Political Bureau profited from it. In his reply, the witness Alia said that the Council of Ministers was charged with such a matter, he didn't know what they have made on the question. I do not deny, he said, that in a talk with Adil Carcani, former premier, I have adviced that Hoxha family should be treated as before.

On the same day the witnesses Hekuran Isai, former minister of home affairs; Manush Myftiu, former deputy premier; Qirjako Mihali, former minister of finances; and some others were brought to the court for testimony. The prosecutor of the indictment Teodor Mosko pointed out during the sittings that these former senior functionaries of the Party of Labour and the state have prepared and passed anticonstituent laws, orders, and decrees for tremendous profits for themselves and their friends to the detriment of the state property, at a time when the people, barbarously oppressed and violated from the policy they had projected, were suffering even for the most elementary things.

Trial Adjourned for 'Further Investigation'

AU1401213793 Paris AFP in English 1719 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Tirana, Jan 14 (AFP)—The trial of former communist dictator Enver Hoxha's widow, Nexhmije, charged with embezzling state funds and abusing power, was Thursday [14 January] suspended until Wednesday after the final witnesses took the stand.

Court sources said the adjournment was called to permit further investigation into the case of the former communist regime's leading figures, accused of leading lives of luxury. Former foreign trade minister Shane Korbeci was among those who took the stand, the last of a string of former communists called in to testify.

One of them Ramiz Alia, 66, the head of state until last March and now under house arrest, had the court laughing Wednesday when he pledged support for Hoxha—now viewed here as a bloody dictator—and defended the luxury as fitting for his "great historical stature."

It is Albania's first major court case involving a figure in the former regime since the communists were ousted in democratic elections last March won by the Democratic Party of Sali Berisha. [passage omitted]

Four Arrested for Insulting Defense Minister

AU1301184093 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 7 Jan 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Four Persons Arrested in Bulqize for Safet Zhulali...!"]

[Text] An unofficial source reports that by a governmental order, special forces sent from Tirana arrested four persons during one night near the end of 1992, with no request from local government bodies. The persons arrested are accused of having insulted the honor of Deputy Safet Zhulali, who is also the defense minister of the Republic of Albania. Among those arrested was a 12-year-old child who, after being brought to Tirana accompanied by the policemen, was released and sent back to Bulqize. The fate of the other persons is not known.

Meanwhile, we want to clarify that after being illegally hit with stones in Bulqize where he went to meet those who elected him deputy, Safet Zhulali passed the new year in good health.

Berov on Joint Balkan Declaration on Yugoslavia

AU1401211693 Sofia BTA in English 2010 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 14 (BTA)—Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey and Greece are ready to make a joint declaration on the developments in the former Yugoslavia, Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, who is also acting foreign minister, said in a brief interview for national radio. Today he had consecutive meetings with the foreign ministers of the three Balkan countries and with the foreign ministers of Algeria and Estonia in Paris, where he signed the chemical weapons convention.

"The foreign ministers of Romania, Turkey and Greece expressed readiness to make a declaration jointly with Bulgaria, concerning our policy towards the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as to Macedonia, we agreed that Macedonia's division in any way—in three or four parts, is unthinkable," Mr. Berov said on the radio.

Interviewed by a reporter for Bulgarian radio, Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin said that Turkey had never asked Bulgaria to grant passage to Turkish troops for their possible intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina. His denial came in response to reports in some Bulgarian newspapers last week, saying that Turkey had asked for passage for its troops. Former Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov denied them earlier.

At his meetings with the three Balkan foreign ministers Mr. Lyuben Berov proposed that a general or a technical agreement be signed on entry regulations, in order to "check the pressure of the immigration wave on the Balkans." The foreign ministers showed interest and willingness to put the Bulgarian proposal in practice.

Prof. Berov and Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu discussed bilateral cooperation in environmental protection and industry, as well as the designing of a new bridge over the River Danube (which is the two countries' common border) as part of a motorway linking Thessaloniki (Greece) and Poland.

Mr. Berov discussed aspects of bilateral cooperation with Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin and with Greek Foreign Minister Mikhail Papakonstandin . A correspondent for Bulgarian television reported from Paris that Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis will visit Bulgaria next week, and that Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev may visit Athens.

Assembly Chairman To Attend CSCE Session

AU1401122393 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] [Announcer] Aleksandur Yordanov, chairman of the National Assembly, departed for Copenhagen this morning. He is expected to attend the Permanent Committee session of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly. The committee consists of leaders from the Assembly's national delegations.

Before his departure, the National Assembly stated the following to our correspondent Zlatina Georgieva:

[Begin Yordanov recording] The agenda for the one-day session includes the hearing of a report read by the CSCE Council of Ministers, adoption of a procedural code of the Parliamentary Assembly, and debates on some other political and organizational issues.

Our delegation is expected to submit a proposal on the Assembly's code of regulations, and I also will make a statement after the report read by Mrs. Margareta Douglas, chairman of the CSCE Council of Ministers, during which I intend to discuss some questions that I already raised at the Budapest meeting.

As you know, the text submitted by our delegation at the Budapest session was accepted as Item 16 in the Declaration on Yugoslavia.

As a matter of fact, I shall once more draw the attention of the parliament chairmen from the CSCE member countries to this issue, and I shall again insist on the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia to take place as soon as possible, considering that it would be in conformity with the decisions of the (?Badinter) Commission and in accordance with the criteria on the proclamation of an independent state. I shall point out that, according to the Bulgarian stand, the name of Macedonia is an irrelevant issue and should not be an obstacle to the country's recognition.

The second question that I would like to raise with particular emphasis, because it concerns all Bulgarian citizens, is the question of the grave economic and financial losses suffered by our country as a result of implementing Resolutions No. 757 and 784, adopted by the UN Security Council.

In this connection, I want to point out that Bulgaria has great difficulties with implementing the relevant resolutions and sanctions because of its geographical situation, and also because from the time the sanctions became effective until the end of 1992, our losses have been estimated at $1.2 billion. [end recording].

Russian Envoy: Bilateral Trade 'Unsatisfactory'

AU1401164693 Sofia BTA in English 1607 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 14 (BTA)—Russian ambassador to Sofia Aleksandr Avdeyev finds economic exchange between Russia and Bulgaria in 1992 unsatisfactory. He analysed certain aspects of Bulgarian-Russian relations at a press conference today.

In 1992 trade dropped 40 percent from 1991, he said, due to the bureaucratic structures which still exist in the two countries. Russian entrepreneurs who develop trade with Bulgaria get no encouragement. The economic cooperation mechanism envisaged in the bilateral treaty signed by the two presidents last August has not realized its potential yet. According to Mr. Avdeyev, the cabinet

crises in Bulgaria and Russia have impeded the work of the intergovernmental commission for trade and economic relations set up in compliance with the treaty.

According to Russian statistics, the former Soviet Union owes Bulgaria 680 million transferable rubles, while Bulgaria's debt to the former Soviet republics is estimated at 600 million dollars. In addition, Russia owes this country 500 million clearing dollars because of its trade deficit in 1991. This sum has not been paid yet, and a negotiated solution is being sought.

The impossibility to settle accounts in local currency also has an adverse effect on bilateral trade, according to Mr. Avdeyev. Though certain sectors use both rubles and dollars in settlements, Mr. Avdeyev said that a joint financial institution such as a bank should be established to meet the needs of bilateral trade. However, businessmen should show initiative, he said. The two countries' central banks have agreed in principle to start settlements in local currency.

The increased charges for transit shipments through Ukraine also cause problems in trade. In many cases the charges are so high that trade becomes unprofitable. The sharp drop in the exchange rate of the ruble and transport difficulties also have a negative effect on trade.

Despite all this, Mr. Aleksandr Avdeyev is optimistic about the future of Bulgarian-Russian economic relations because Bulgarian businessmen have penetrated into several regions in Russia. Contracts have been signed with Kemerovo region, Komi, Bashkiria, Orenburg Region, and so on. This creates opportunities for intensifying trade with Bulgaria. Agreements on the avoidance of double taxation and on investment protection are being prepared. In conclusion, Mr. Avdeyev said the Bulgarian-Russian treaty gives unlimited opportunities which should not be missed.

IMF Official Arrives on Fact-Finding Mission

AU1401211393 Sofia BTA in English 2032 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 14 (BTA)—IMF mission leader for Bulgaria Annoup Singh arrived in Sofia today. The aim of his visit, his third in the last six months, is fact-finding: He will study the situation in Bulgaria, the latest statistics and the government's intentions in connection with further cooperation with the IMF. The sides also plan to review the implementation of last year's standby agreement. The IMF has not released the fifth tranche of SDR [special drawing rights] 31 million dollars. The agreement expires in March.

During his one-week visit, Mr. Singh will hold talks with President Zhelev, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, the heads of economic ministries, the governor and top officials of the National Bank. They will discuss a possible new standby agreement between Bulgaria and the IMF. According to Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov (who met the press last week), a three-year agreement is unthinkable, while the signing of a one-year agreement will depend on the terms set by the Fund. The stumbling block is the maximum acceptable budget deficit. According to Mr. Aleksandrov, the budget deficit should be 8 to 10 per cent of the GDP [gross domestic product] in view of the need for larger social welfare spending. For its part, the IMF believes the deficit should not exceed 5 per cent of the GDP to avoid pushing up inflation. The finance minister said Bulgaria would not maintain cooperation with the Fund at all costs. Later on he specified that this is a matter of signing a new agreement, not of breaking relations with this institution. These statements were corrected by National Bank governor Todor Vulchev and Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev. According to Mr. Karabashev, Bulgaria's position is set forth in the policy declaration of the Lyuben Berov cabinet. It mentions the promotion of relations with international financial institutions, including the IMF, as the cabinet's second priority. Prof. Vulchev recalled that at the time of the cabinet crisis he sent a letter of intent cleared with the political forces, which confirmed Bulgaria's readiness to continue cooperation with the fund.

Upon his arrival, the IMF mission leader expressed optimism about further cooperation with Bulgaria. According to Mr. Singh, there are no obstacles to the signing of a new agreement. Declining to cite a specific budget deficit figure, he said he had to study the situation in this country first. As to the increase in the deficit intended to meet the need for higher social welfare spending, the IMF mission leader said it was difficult to analyse only one side of the deficit. He said the whole picture, including inflation, should be taken into account. Bulgaria needs lower inflation, he said.

The talks between the IMF mission and the Finance Ministry, the National Bank and the government start tomorrow.

Zhelev Claims SDS Council Acted as 'Politburo'

AU1401151293 Sofia BTA in English 0840 GMT 14 Jan 93

[From BTA review of Sofia press]

[Text] Sofia, January 14 (BTA)—The REPORTER 7 weekly runs an extensive interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev which focuses on the threats to democracy. The mistake of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) was that after its victory in the election, the National Coordinating Council tried to assume the role of a politburo, of a political overlord with respect to the three centres of power, the president says. Dr. Zhelev says that he is an advocate of the idea of decommunization which has already started with the restitution of ownership. If this is achieved, communism will be done with, he stresses. He believes that the other type of decommunization—through repressive laws, would

simply reproduce the old reflexes of class hatred for the enemy, only with a different target. As for the situation in the Balkans, President Zhelev says that the worst option will be for Balkan states to get involved in the Yugoslav conflict in one way or another. Bulgaria will stay out of this conflict, the president emphasizes.

Ganev, Dimitrov Criticized for Accusations

AU1401221293 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 11 Jan 93 p 4

[Emil Koen commentary: "Naive Questions"]

[Text] From the thoroughly transparent hints of the gentlemen Stoyan Ganev and Filip Dimitrov on the "Panorama" TV program, millions of television viewers clearly understood that the former accused the latter of having collaborated with our former State Security Service. The accused, in turn, responded by hurling the same accusations at his accuser, with the only difference that he described the service in question as the KGB rather than as the Bulgarian State Security.

In this regard it would be appropriate to ask some questions: In the first place, since Ganev had known such details about Filip Dimitrov's past for at least a year, why did he wait so long to brief the public on them? In the second place, why did the former minister of foreign affairs accept to serve in a cabinet headed by such a disgraced individual? The same questions could be addressed to the former prime minister: Would it have been more ethical and politically more expedient to unmask "the KGB man" at an earlier stage, while the latter was holding a high-ranking government office?

It is evident that the power struggle of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] leaders has assumed outrageous forms. The season of exchanging compromising files has opened, and God knows how it will end.

Do the infighting leaders not understand that their mutual, public slandering can only lead to their mutual disgrace? As a matter of fact, this would not be a tragedy as long as the mutual denouncement of individuals did not disgrace the very idea of democracy in the eyes of numerous people, at least, as it already happens.

Finance Minister Reports on Expected Deficit

AU1401151593 Sofia BTA in English 1323 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 14 (BTA)—Professor Lyuben Berov's cabinet has not renounced the assistance of the International Monetary Fund and it will take no steps that may discontinue it, but on the other hand it will not accept any conditions critical for the country, Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov told journalists today. However, the cabinet admits that not signing an agreement with the IMF might be possible, but this could happen only on the IMF initiative.

Minister Aleksandrov hopes that the IMF will show understanding for the requests of the Bulgarian Government, which are well-argumented with figures, and will agree to some corrections in the macroeconomic framework, the budget deficit included. He explained that the projections and preliminary agreements with the IMF concerning the macroeconomic framework have been made on the basis of maximum 30-40 percent inflation and zero growth.

According to the finance minister, the 1993 deficit is expected to be about 18,000 million leva or 6.3 percent of GNP.

Some additional factors should be taken into account when projecting the budget deficit, he said. In his opinion, the amount of compensations which are to be paid to the people repressed at the time of the communist regime taken alone will burden the budget with about 1,400 million leva and the IMF insists on an amount that is three- or four-fold larger. Another 47,000 million will be needed to settle bad debts, while the government is in position to allocate only 20 to 22,000 million leva. The cabinet plans 1.4 percent in the budget deficit (18,000 million) for servicing the country's foreign debt, but as no agreement has been concluded with the creditor banks and their intentions are unknown, this may prove to be insufficient, Mr. Aleksandrov said.

The process of privatization can be expected to result in lay-offs which will make it necessary to further burden the budget with social benefits, the finance minister said. Besides, the government has assumed a commitment to improve civil servants' pay.

The finance minister believes that there will be much more difficulties in making the IMF accept a greater budget deficit than an increase of people's incomes.

Foreign Minister Signs Chemical Weapons Treaty

LD1401171093 Prague CTK in English 1313 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Paris Jan 14 (CTK correspondent)—Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec today signed an international convention banning chemical weapons, thus joining the more than 120 countries expected to sign the treaty in the course of a three-day ceremony in the Paris-based UNESCO headquarters.

By signing the convention the Czech Republic is entering multi-lateral diplomacy, seeking to follow up the former Czechoslovakia's activity in the United Nations, in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, at disarmament conferences and on other international forums, Zieleniec said on the signing of the document.

He called the treaty a most significant document that will strengthen global military-strategic, political and economic stability.

Zieleniec, who is now on his first foreign trip as the foreign minister of the independent Czech Republic, said that the Czech Republic does not develop, produce or store chemical weapons, and that in its military doctrine it renounced ownership of any kinds of weapons of mass destruction.

The treaty is the first-ever attempt to prohibit an entire class of weapons of mass destruction. The states that will sign it will be required to destroy their chemical arsenals and the factories producing them within ten years after 65 nations ratify the treaty, but no earlier than January 1995.

The treaty also includes strict provisions for international inspection of its possible violations. The top body in this respect will be the Chemical Weapons Prohibition Organisation OPCW based in The Hague.

Zieleniec turned to the creators of the organisation asking them to respect the limited financial resources of a number of countries and not to burden their budgets by useless costs.

He nevertheless said that the Czech Republic realises that the contribution of this treaty to the security of mankind cannot be expressed in any amount of money.

The Czech Republic's share in the fund from which the destruction of chemical weapons is to be covered is 0.37 percent, a representative of the Czech Foreign Ministry told CTK.

The treaty was also signed today by Slovakia, represented by Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko.

Meets Ukraine, Belarus Counterparts

LD1401215993 Prague CTK in English 2002 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Paris Jan 14 (CTK)—Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec told Ukraine's Deputy Foreign Minister Nikolay Makarevich here today that the countries of Central Europe could not accept Ukraine as a nuclear power, which could slow the process of East and Central Europe's integration with the West.

Zieleniec said Makarevich had cited a lack of funds as the main reason for Ukraine's hesitancy regarding the destruction of its nuclear weapons. I was assured, however, that Ukraine's goal is to rid itself of nuclear weapons, he added.

The Czech foreign minister was in the French capital to sign an international treaty on the banning of chemical weapons.

Zieleniec also held talks with Belarus' Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko on economic cooperation between the two states. Zieleniec said that the Czech Republic and Belarus remain competitors in their interest for a temporary seat on the United Nation's Security Council. We both explained to each other why membership is important to us.

Both Belarus and the Czech Republic are seeking the seat which will be left vacant after Hungary steps down from the Security Council on January 1, 1994.

Zieleniec discussed strategies for dealing with the collapse of the former Soviet market with Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen.

The Czech foreign minister tonight left Paris and returned to Prague.

Foreign Minister Views Policy Objectives

AU1501105893 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 12 Jan 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec by Jan Krupka on 7 January; place not given: "There Is No Reason To Stand Aside"]

[Text] [Krupka] Sir, an independent Czech state—the Czech Republic—was established several days ago. What are the main principles on which Czech foreign policy will build and the main objectives at which it will be aimed?

[Zieleniec] Our first and unequivocal strategic goal is our integration within the network of cooperation between countries of Western Europe—West European integration. Our state has been for centuries a constituent part of Western Europe. There is no reason we should stand aside now, despite the fact that for 40 years we have been absorbed in the Eastern empire. Compared with a thousand years of our history, this is negligible. So this is our main political goal. Of course, if we analyze this goal we find a large number of specific activities that we must undertake to achieve it. We must integrate our state into the system of international treaties, a part of which Czechoslovakia was, and seek a smooth transfer of these treaties to our country, so that we may suffer no loss. We must push for the good reputation of our state. We know

our history, and we can feel it. However, since there were those 40 years of communism, we must make the world familiar with the name of our country, with its history. This also is an important task. We must establish very good relations with our neighbors, since these relations are important for any country, and for a small country that has plenty of neighbors this is a vital issue. Regional cooperation is the basis for good relations with neighbors. We have something to build on, but applicable activity must be undertaken in that direction, since if something if left without maintenance, it deteriorates, of course. Our very active effort to find a permanent solution in our relations with Germany will become a part and parcel of our activity in foreign policy.

[Krupka] Sir, what reaction has the address of the Czech National Council to the parliaments and governments all over the world received?

[Zieleniec] This declaration can be understood as a formal act of the new state—as its efforts to stick to certain rules applicable in the world of general human values. By this, we ranked ourselves among the countries that are considered democratic. This declaration is a basis for establishing diplomatic contacts between our country and the world. In this declaration, we also took over the obligations of the federation that were transferred to us. We do not have to expect any reaction. It is an understandable act—having declared ourselves as a member of the community of democratic states.

[Krupka] Your first trip abroad after the establishment of the Czech Republic will be to Slovakia. What will be the subject of your discussions with [Slovak Foreign] Minister Knazko and other Slovak representatives?

[Zieleniec] It is likely that before I go to Slovakia, I will visit Paris, where the world treaty banning chemical weapons is expected to be signed. It is a great event in the world's diplomacy. On 17 January I will be in the UN, where our country will be admitted as a member of this organization. We will see whether I manage to go to Slovakia before that, or immediately after these visits. We made an agreement with the prime minister that the visit in Slovakia could be a more solemn visit, that we could go there together, and that a final treaty on the division of the federation's property could be signed there. Minister Knazko and I are likely to sign two treaties regarding our consulates and consular activity. This is linked to our heritage of the federation's common foreign policy and to the division of property. We must regulate our mutual relations—fine tune those things. A working visit is really necessary for that. I must stress that the entire process is immensely complicated and contains thousands of details. Despite this, on 7 January, which is today, we cannot hear about any conflict and problems, despite the fact that this process was so complicated.

[Krupka] How is the Czech Republic going to behave toward the Czech minorities, that is, our countrymen abroad?

[Zieleniec] This is one of the most important points in our activity, not only because when a country is established it needs its name—its trademark—to become known. Our countrymen are our natural pillars of support in the world. There is a large group of our countrymen in Europe, the United States, Canada, and Australia. We have not always been successful in inducing them to participate in close cooperation with the old country. We have definitely had less success than Poles or Hungarians in that sense. We want to indirectly organize, initiate, and support activity directed toward convening a congress in Prague of Czechs abroad. Maybe we will succeed in organizing it. We, the ministry, are a state administrative body, we do not want to organize it directly. I have invited several foundations and Czech associations to undertake it. It will depend on their activity, and we will help them, if we can. However, this is a multidimensional problem. You know that our communities abroad were very often divided. This division did not always go along the line of whether they communicated, more or less, with the communist regime, and those who did not. There are various dividing lines, given by history, and the old country must be careful not to join these disputes. We want to cooperate with everyone. This will require not only much skill and tact but also open hearts. You mentioned Austria. Our community there is numerous, and they maintain intensive contacts with us. Recently, I visited an exposition in the Valdstein Palace organized by our Viennese countrymen, and many countrymen who maintain in Austria the traditions of the Czech education system came there.

[Krupka] Can the Czech schools in Vienna expect financial help from the Czech Foreign Ministry?

[Zieleniec] I do not think that this help should take the form of financial subisdy to specific associations. Help to schools is very important, however. There is a question—what this help should be aimed at. This is a problem that involves our feelings and tact—we do not want the community to separate. However, schools are something what we should support.

[Krupka] With how many countries has the Czech Republic established political relations, and in how many countries will it have representative offices?

[Zieleniec] This number changes every day. According to latest information, more than 70 countries have recognized us. In come countries, they had longer New Year's vacations—or they may stick to certain procedures—but we do not expect that a country that recognized the CSFR in the past would not recognize the Czech Republic. From the point of view of usual habits in the world, this is an absolute record. Only five days after the establishment of our state, this number exceeds 70. You know that various states have been established since the disintegration of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. In those cases, there was hesitation and a long wait-and-see

situation, in which it was observed whether these countries were able to reach agreement and to whom obligations would be transferred. I believe that the speed with which we have been recognized is unprecedented in history. Of course, on one hand, it is being done automatically, on the other, however, this automatic recognition is a reflection of the wide acceptance of the democratic, civilized, and peaceful manner in which we reached agreement with Slovakia, and in which our countries, the Czech and the Slovak Republics, have been established.

[Krupka] Sir, my last question regards screening at the Foreign Ministry. Are you going to continue in Mr. Dienstbier's method, which was slow and with which the public was not content, or do you have some other new strategy?

[Zieleniec] I want the ministry to become, as far as the public's acceptance and quality of people are concerned, a model ministry. This is why I will see to it that there are not even the slightest doubts about the people who are employed here, regarding their loyalty to the Czech Republic. The screening law is in force. It will be respected 100 percent, I can guarantee it. When we took over the employees of the Federal Foreign Ministry, I refused to accept a large number of employees. They either left themselves, or I did not accept them. My reasons were the quality of the personnel of the Czech diplomatic service. I was able to take only these limited measures. I must stress one thing, however. The key to a quality diplomatic service lies in establishing a quality system of interpersonal relations that will be functional for years to come. It must lead to the introduction of a competitive milieu that puts quality and entrepreneurial individuals at the advantage and puts those who have no prospects out of the game.

Membership in UN Peacekeeping Forces Readjusted

LD1501110893 Prague CTK in English 0955 GMT 15 Jan 93

[By CTK correspondent]

[Text] New York Jan 15—The Czech and Slovak Republics have offered to the U.N. to extend their participation in the U.N. peacekeeping forces stationed in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR), Stefan Fule, spokesman for the Czech mission to the U.N. told CTK today. Thus far, there has been one Czechoslovak battalion, but the two republics want to send to the former Yugoslavia one battalion each, Fule said. He added that also other changes in the Czech and Slovak participation in the U.N. peacekeeping forces are under discussion.

On December 31, before it split into the independent Czech and Slovak Republics, the Czechoslovak Federation had in the former Yugoslavia one UNPROFOR battalion of some 500 men and several officers.

The UNPROFOR commander, Indian General Satis Nambiar supports the establishment of the new battalion because it could help handle the critical situation in the Balkan. However, it is the U.N. Security Council which can make a decision on Czech and Slovak participation, and the U.N. General Assembly, which earmarks money for peacekeeping operations, Fule said.

There are also five Czechoslovak military observers in Somalia. They will be withdrawn in March without being replaced, as the U.N. does not count on any observers in its Somali peacekeeping, military, political and security operations following the withdrawal of the U.S. military forces. But it is not ruled out, that the U.N. will ask the Czech or the Slovak Republic to send a unit to take part in the envisaged peacekeeping operation, Fule told CTK.

Fourteen Slovak military observers work in Angola, to be joined by another six Slovaks at the request of the U.N. as soon as the situation in Angola allows it. The Czech Republic is to provide twenty observers for the peacekeeping operation in Mozambique, Fule said.

In Iraq, where Czechoslovakia had 54 men, the mission will be taken over by the Czech Republic, Fule said.

Economic Agreements Signed With Hungary

LD1401224493 Prague CTK in English 2102 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Prague Jan 14 (CTK)—An agreement on the prevention of double taxation and an agreement on investment protection between the Czech Republic and Hungary were signed here today by Czech Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik and Hungarian Minister of Finance Mihaly Kupa. Kupa arrived in Prague today for a two-day visit at the invitation of his Czech counterpart.

Kocarnik said after the signing ceremony that both agreements are designed to promote free business activities and guarantee that they will never be nationalised. Both documents have been crafted in line with European Community norms, he added.

Kocarnik said the agreements have to be initialled by both countries' parliaments and added that there is no reason for this process not to occur smoothly. The documents will be initialled immediately after being taken up by both parliaments, he said.

According to him, all Czechoslovakia's agreements on the prevention of double taxation and on investment protection have been transferred onto Czechoslovakia's two successor states—the Czech and Slovak Republics. Czechoslovakia had agreements on investment protection with 21 countries and agreements on the prevention of double taxation with 23 countries, among them with all EC member states.

About five to six similar agreements with other countries are under preparation, he said and added that Poland is one of the states with which they soon will be signed.

In the past the prevention of double taxation between the former Czechoslovakia and Hungary was ensured by the package of agreements concluded between the two countries within the former CMEA, Jan Tuma from the Czech Finance Ministry told CTK. He said these agreements are still valid and will continue to be valid until newly concluded accords take effect on January 1, 1994.

The situation is similar in relations between the Czech Republic and Poland, Tuma said. An agreement on the prevention of double taxation is to be signed in the near future and is due to take effect on the same date as the agreement with Hungary.

Kupa is the first minister from abroad visiting the independent Czech Republic after January 1, 1993, when Czechoslovakia divided into two separate states. He is scheduled to meet with Czech Privatisation Minister Jiri Skalicky today and with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus on Friday.

Ministry Condemns Cuba for Opposition Repression

LD1301192893 Prague CTK in English 1902 GMT 13 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 13 (CTK)—The Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs today strongly protested against new repressions by Cuban officials against representatives of the opposition, the ministry told CTK today.

In a meeting with the Cuban Charge d'Affaires Pedro Garcia Roque, Ministry Director Martin Povejsil recalled the last resolution of the United Nations condemning violation of human rights in Cuba. He stressed that the international community wanted a comprehensive dialogue to start between the Cuban government and opposition groups with different views on future developments in Cuba.

'Cesko' Considered as Short Name for Republic

AU1401150293 Prague CTK in English 1515 GMT 13 Jan 93

[Text] Prague Jan 13 (CTK)—Cesko, the name which is often used for the Czech Republic in the spoken language, will most likely gain grounds in the future, Jana Bartunkova of the Czech Academy of Sciences Onomastic Commission has told CTK.

She was speaking in the course of the 3rd Czech Onomastic Conference in Hradec Kralove, East Bohemia, which opened Tuesday to discuss problems concerning Czech proper names.

Bartunkova said the name Cesko will be more easily accepted by the young generation.

Considerations linked to the short name to be used for the new Czech state have been bothering Czech society since the first signs of a possible split of Czechoslovakia last summer.

While the country's division into two independent republics appeared to be rather smooth in the end, the split of the good old name of Czechoslovakia (Ceskoslovensko in Czech and Slovak) remains unsolved.

While Slovakia (Slovensko in Czech and Slovak) has always been widely used for the eastern part of the country, the Czech Republic used the names of the historical lands of the Czech crown—Bohemia (Cechy) and Moravia (Morava, comprising Moravia and Silesia, Silesia).

Moravian nationalists would like to see their lands mentioned in the name of the new state but that would hardly make a short name possible.

On December 31, the last day of the existence of Czechoslovakia, former prominent Czech politician Cestmir Cisar wrote in the daily RUDE PRAVO that a majority of European states are named according to their national languages. I do not think that the Czech state should be an exception, Cisar wrote.

He added that historical lands may have their autonomy, but they usually do not interfere in the name of the state.

It is beyond doubt that on the territory of the Czech Republic the national language is Czech and thus there is no reason for not deriving the name of the new state from it.

One possibility is Cechie (according to Cisar it would be Czechia in English, la Tchequie in French, die Tschechei in German) which would be formed in the same way as the names of France (Francie in Czech) or England (Anglie).

Cechie, which was used by Czech patriots in the period of the 19th-century national revival with a feeling of pride, implies the Slavic roots of the country, but sounds rather old-fashioned. Moreover, the German-invented term is felt as rather pejorative by many people.

The other possibility, Cesko (according to Cisar most likely Czechland in English) would have the same structure as Polsko (Poland), Norsko (Norway), or Skotsko (Scotland). But this name sounds rather awkward, and was often used as a pejorative by the Slovaks. The British paper THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH wrote last October that this name is unacceptable as in English (Czesko) it would sound funny, just like Tesco, the name of a chain of department stores.

Nevertheless, Cesko seems to be gaining ground in spite of frequent protests. Sometimes it can even be seen in major newspapers and that is the best way for it to make people get used to it and accept it.

People's Party Proposes Havel for President

LD1401151393 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Report by correspondent Jana Hrbkova on news conference given by the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL] in Prague on 14 January—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] On the basis of our discussion with Mr. Vaclav Havel at Hradecek [Havel's country home in northeast Bohemia] yesterday, I can tell you now that KDU-CSL will put Vaclav Havel forward as its candidate for president of the Czech Republic and that we did not find any areas in which our views differ, Josef Lux, chairman of the KDU-CSL said, adding that he discussed with Vaclav Havel a common stand on the past, including laws on anticommunist resistance and on the return of church assets, and agreed on the need to dominate the moral transformation of society, including the social dimension of the economic reform.

Josef Lux stressed that in his post of president of the Czech Republic Vaclav Havel will not identify himself with any political party. [passage omitted]

Entrepreneurs Party Proposes Strasky as President

LD1401201693 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Eva Hulkova reports on a news conference given by the Party of Entrepreneurs, Small Businessmen, and Farmers [Strana Podnikatelu, Zivnostniku a Rolniku] of the Czech Republic. Party representatives expressed views on candidates for the post of president of the Czech Republic:

As the party chairman Rudolf Baranek said, the party will push forward the nomination of Jan Strasky for the post of president of the Czech Republic. Strasky, according to Rudolf Baranek, received this proposal positively, but had asked to be given time to think about it. It was stated that this is not an attack on Havel, but businessmen want Strasky as president as he has shown, in their opinion, that he knows how to deal with problems in the country. This proposal is at present supported by 10 deputies in the Czech parliament, the head of the party said.

Ethnic Differences Surface in TV Debate

AU1401214093 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Jan 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "There Are Also Ethnic Problems in the Czech Republic"]

[Text] Prague—Sunday's [10 January] edition of the very popular Czech Television 1 program "From the Czech Political Scene" featured a discussion involving representatives from parliament, the Prosecutor General's Office, and the political parties. The program revealed a number of problems for the Czech state concerning coexistence and ethnic groups. In particular, differences of opinion were expressed about the method for resolving the Romany issue, about the extraordinary legal measures directed against migrants, and about the level of autonomy for Moravia. Movement for Self-Governing Democracy of Moravia and Silesia chairman Jan Krycer warned Moravian National Party chairman Ivan Drimal that he is copying the behavior and vocabulary adopted by Jan Carnogursky at the time when the arguments leading to the collapse of the Czechoslovak Republic erupted. Vladimir Suman, chairman of the Czech Parliament Chamber of Deputies' Petition Committee, rejected the views expressed by Democratic Party-Sudetenland chairman Jaroslav Bluehmel on the need for negotiations with Sudeten German representatives about the restitution of their property and about priority rights for conducting business in the Czech Republic.

Foreign Minister on Air Strike Against Iraq

LD1401203793 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Yesterday's attack carried out by allied air forces on military targets in Iraq attracted public interest throughout the world.

Commenting on yesterday's action, Milan Knazko, minister of foreign affairs of the Slovak Republic, who is visiting Paris, said that the air attack revealed that the Iraqi problem and the entire conflict had not been thoroughly solved by previous military operations. Thus it has re-emerged, and we should now hope that it will be solved in such a way as not to continue to be a source of tension, Milan Knazko said. [passage omitted]

France's Dumas Meets Premier, Foreign Minister

AU1401150893 Prague CTK in English 1449 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava Jan 12 (CTK)— France will be a voluntary defender of Slovakia, French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas said after his meeting with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and Foreign Minister Milan Knazko today.

Dumas, who arrived here today for a several-hour visit, said he will strive for Slovakia's acceptance in the European Community not to be delayed.

He said that his visit to Slovakia is to show his respect to the calm division of Czechoslovakia.

Explaining why he visited Slovakia prior to visiting the Czech Republic, Dumas said that it was a luring opportunity to be the first foreign visitor. He added that he will use the first opportunity to visit Prague.

Meciar emphasized that Dumas promised his assistance in integrating Slovakia into Europe, and in the conversion of its industry.

Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko is leaving for Paris tonight. He announced that he will meet with some representatives of the French Government and of the industrial circles.

I would also like to meet with UNESCO Secretary-General Federico Mayor Zaragoza to discuss Slovakia's integration with this organization, Knazko said.

After his meeting with Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the Slovak parliament, Dumas said he considers it to be symbolical that France stood at the birth of Czechoslovakia (in 1918 - ed) and now France's foreign minister is the first official representative of a foreign country to visit independent Slovakia.

Ethnic Hungarian Leader Views Minority Policy

AU1401160893 Budapest 168 ORA in Hungarian 12 Jan 93 pp 12-13

[Interview with Miklos Duray, one of the heads of the Coexistence Movement, by Gabriella Lantos; place and date not given: "The Slovak Trap"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Lantos] According to one of your statements in UJ SZO [NEW WORD] published in Bratislava, you see great chances for trying to create the conditions for a Central European reconciliation within the framework of the new state, conditions that could not be created either within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy or the CSFR. If we fail to make use of this opportunity, the process of disintegration that started at the beginning of this century will continue. What do you mean by this?

[Duray] The situation in the CSFR was similar to the one prevailing in the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This was also a multinational and heterogeneous state, and the bad spirit of the monarchy continued in the CSFR by failing to create a system of political relations among the various nationalities, a system necessary for the proper functioning of the state in a country that is not homogeneous.

[Lantos] What facts give reason for optimism?

[Duray] Just like in the life of individuals, each time when essential constitutional changes take place in the life of a country, there are also conditions for a new beginning. This change could mean a good take-off position, because we can start a lot of things from the beginning, with a clean slate....

Slovakia is not a uniform country either nationally or socially; therefore, if the Slovak policy continues on the road that was announced in the Constitution, the great opportunity deriving from a new beginning will dissipate. Doubts originate from the everyday policy, such as the fact that the Slovak Constitution regards this country as a nation-state. The Slovak prime minister spent his first two days in office among soldiers in the army. This does not show at all that we need a civil society here; on the contrary, this relates to traditions reminiscent of the situation prevailing at the end of the thirties. [passage omitted]

[Lantos] You declared in one of your statements that Meciar and his followers wanted an independent Slovakia mainly out of a desire for power, rather than for nationalistic reasons. If they gain a majority—as it turned out—this will satisfy their hunger for power. However, recent events do not seem to justify this at all, because these people are increasingly militant, and we feel that this power is not yet enough for them. What do you expect in the future?

[Duray] It is not by accident that things turned out like that, because Meciar's policy has been clearly one of gaining power from the very beginning. Thus, national

ideology was only a means for achieving this power. However, the legitimacy of Meciar's policy is diminishing these days. The Slovaks began to be worried about the type of independence that Meciar brought upon them, because he himself did not want to break all relations with the Czech lands. Actually, Meciar wanted to milk the Czechs for all he could get—he wanted to make use of the economic advantages of the Czech state. However, he went further to an orbit where he no longer feels at home.

[Lantos] Did he overdo it? Is this independence bigger than necessary?

[Duray] One can say that, too. Meciar will preserve his former weight in parliament, but he will not receive the expected support from society. Therefore, he has to think of how to secure his power. The fact that he is moving among the soldiers and the Army clearly shows this. As for his declaration according to which Slovakia needs a strong army to be able to defend itself from alleged and nonexistent enemies, this means nothing else but the revival of the political practice in which one has to seek an enemy and create a state of danger in order to bring about unity, in order to preserve power naturally. [passage omitted]

[Lantos] It seems to me that you supported the Slovak efforts toward independence while you knew in advance that the situation of the Hungarian minority would not improve. This looks as if you deliberately walked into the trap....

[Duray] That is wrong. We did not walk into the trap. It was Meciar who walked into his own trap. We passed the trap, and we know exactly who is in it. I myself have been convinced since 1986 that the CSFR would cease to exist and an independent Slovakia would emerge. Thus, this was no surprise for me at all. [passage omitted]

Top Positions in Slovak Army Command Listed

AU1501142893 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 11 Jan 93 p 3

[Interview with Colonel Engineer Tomas Svec, press spokesman of the Commander of the Army of the Slovak Republic, by "jz"- signed correspondent; place and date not given: "Who Is Who in the Army of the Slovak Republic?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [SMENA] It goes without saying that individual positions have already been filled. Who is who in the Army of the Slovak Republic [ASR]?

[Svec] The ASR commander is Major General Engineer Julius Humaj. Major General Engineer Andrej Sabol has been appointed ASR deputy commander; Colonel of the General Staff Engineer Emil Vestenicky has been appointed commander of ground forces; Major General Stefan Gombik has been appointed commander of air and air defense forces; Major General Engineer Jaroslav Esmir has been appointed commander of logistics; and Major General Engineer Pavel Honzek has been appointed chief of the General Staff.

Pace of Privatization Called 'Outright Tragic'

AU1501142593 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 13 Jan 93 p 1

[TA SR report: "The Opposite Is and Will Be True"]

[Text] Kosice—In an interview for yesterday's SLOVENSKY VYCHOD [SLOVAK EAST, East Slovak regional daily], Ivan Miklos, former minister for the administration and privatization of national property, described the development of privatization in Slovakia as outright tragic.

To illustrate his point, he said that whereas in the Czech Republic 730 privatization projects were approved between the elections and the end of October, in Slovakia a mere two projects were approved in this period while privatization projects for the second wave were canceled. According to the former minister, the period to come in the Slovak economy will be marked by a development of inertia [zotrvacny vyvoj] accompanied by inflation and lack of stability. "Foreign capital is afraid to enter into such an economy, the public and businessmen do not trust its currency, and so forth. Mr. Meciar promised an easier path, lower prices, and higher wages. The opposite is and will be true." Ivan Miklos described as absolutely absurd the intention to restrict coupon privatization to a minimum and to give preference to standard privatization methods, arguing that "there is less money in Slovakia and, unlike Czech banks, Slovak banks do not provide any credits."

Christian Democrats Propose Neuwirth for President

LD1401204293 Prague CTK in English 1818 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava Jan 14 (CTK)—Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) proposes Anton Neuwirth, chairman of the Slovak Parliament Committee for Health and Social Affairs, for the post of the Slovak president, KDH Deputy Ivan Simko told journalists in Bratislava today.

At the press conference given by the KDH, Neuwirth said that if elected, he would strive to improve political atmosphere in the Slovak parliament. It is mainly the unwillingness of the majority of the floor to hear out the opposition deputies' opinions that impairs the process of application of democracy in the parliament, he said.

Jeszenszky Views Relations With Yugoslavia

93BA0409A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Dec 92 pp 16-17

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Dr. Geza Jeszenszky, by Gordana Logar in Budapest; date not given: "A Lesson in Life More Important Than History"]

[Text] Budapest—The other day Dr. Geza Jeszenszky, who heads Hungarian diplomacy, gave an interview to our newspaper for the third time. The first time was slightly more than two and a half years ago, immediately after the victory of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, when the possibility had just been announced that the prestigious history professor from the University of Budapest could become foreign minister. Then both democracy and Europe seemed within the reach of the former socialist countries, including the SFRY.

Just a year later, in a meeting of the now nonexistent Hexagonal in a Dubrovnik that still was what it had been, Dr. Jeszenszky, professor, complained in a brief statement that in Yugoslavia, which still existed, he had mainly been misunderstood, his statements taken out of context, and himself portrayed in dark colors to the public. In the meantime, there have been several such examples, but there was the case of the sale of kalashnikovs to Croatia from Hungary during the war with the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. In Hungary and in the public here, the person to blame for that act was precisely the head of the diplomatic corps. Today, however, we have heard from well-informed Hungarian oppositionist circles, but also from fellow journalists whose newspaper is not exactly supportive of the incumbent party and the coalition government that Dr. Jeszenszky, "a professor, still not adept at political games, has been concealing someone much more powerful." That was yet another reason for not going back to the "kalashnikovs." Especially because we arrived in Budapest at an hour when Hungary was the only one in favor of our chess team participating in the European championship, and at the "Balkan Conference" in Istanbul Dr. Jeszenszky was the most outspoken against a military solution and in favor of peaceful solutions of the Yugoslav crisis in the war in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina].

Serbian Friends

In addition to all that, we learned that during all those unpleasant tensions between the two countries Dr. Jeszenszky met several times with Mr. Vladislav Jovanovic, former and present Serbian foreign minister, although the public was not informed. Some of the meetings even took place during the night at the Budapest Airport, after the UN sanctions were imposed.

"We did have a bitter phase between our countries, but I hope that that is behind us. I met with Mr. Jovanovic, and I met with figures from Serbia whenever I had the opportunity. Today, I am happy that in many respects I know Serbia's approach and the people there. I have taken every occasion for us to get closer together, and I have met representatives of the government of the new Yugoslavia as well, but I have also met with opposition circles. I also have had an extraordinary conversation with His Royal Highness Aleksandar of Yugoslavia," we were told at this point by Dr. Geza Jeszenszky. "Believe me that I am not talking merely about superficial knowledge. I personally was brought up by a father born in a small town in present Romania who always said that the Hungarians, Romanians, and Serbs lived there together in friendship. My political models and teachers were people who preached Danube cooperation. Dr. Djordjevic, history professor at Santa Barbara, California, is a close friend of mine. I have heard and learned a great deal from him. Actually, I always maintained contacts with Serbs, knew their opinions and approaches, and that is how it will also be in the future, even after your elections, whatever happens. I sincerely hope and believe that the reasons for the UN sanctions will be eliminated after that, and that your elections will contribute to that."

[Logar] The sanctions also hurt the economy of Hungary, and the charge has been made against you that the embargo has been violated quite a bit over your border. The adoption of visas is even being mentioned.

"If only Serbia and the Serbs would do absolutely everything in their power to bring this horrible and terrible war in Bosnia-Hercegovina to a halt, to arrive at a peaceful solution," Dr. Jeszenszky responds. "I am a great advocate of removing the sanctions anyway. Hungary, of course, was not the one which imposed them. The West was very resolved to do something and instead of resorting to the military opposition, it adopted an embargo which does not hurt only the Serbs. We really did have extremely good economic cooperation, some of our factories have now gotten into a difficult situation because of that. I would like to see all of that come to an end.

"As for visas, as a member of the Central European Initiative we are proclaiming the principle of cooperation over borders, which in the end comes down to free trade and inclusion in the European market and the Community. And that implies the answer about visas—we are a country with open borders. So far, we have been able to develop good relations with all neighbors, and that is why I am sorry that some of them do not understand or do not accept our goodwill and policy. Following the breakdown of the Warsaw Pact, we have had good relations with both Ukraine and with Russia. In the end, we will all of us be together in the Central European Initiative, and that will be a kind of purgatory before we all come together in the EC."

Hungary and NATO

[Logar] Nevertheless, because of everything that has happened on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, people still look with anxiety on the fact that Hungary could have a particular importance and role if NATO

special units should act to bring a rapid resolution of the crisis, and that they would come from your territory. Finally, you are in the NATO parliament, and can you reject that or anything else?

"Nothing like that can happen," Dr. Jeszenszky asserted. "First of all, we are outside NATO and far from the rapid-action units. Our policy, to which we will remain consistent to the end, whatever might happen in the former or new Yugoslavia, is that Hungary will not take part. Not only in military missions, but there will not even be Hungarian soldiers in peacekeeping missions. I assure you that Hungary is not thinking about, nor would it participate in any way in any conflict whatsoever on any part of the territory in the former or present Yugoslavia, and I want to repeat that. The NATO parliament is in any case a kind of discussion group, and our approach is that this is a defensive alliance; even if we were in it, it would be only for our protection and nothing more than that. You know, for a long time in the Warsaw Pact, which was offensive, our young men had to go off to wars and to capture territory on their behalf. That must not happen again."

Concerning this question, Dr. Jeszenszky, as one would expect of a historian, returned in a quite specific way to the relations between Serbs and Hungarians.

"My point of departure is always that these two people have a very lengthy historical period of cooperation, incomparably longer than the conflicts. In the Middle Ages, Hungarian kings married Serbian women, and they were queens of Hungary. We fought together against the Ottoman Empire, and there was always a respect here for the courage of Serbian soldiers, even when they were on the opposite side. We ought to go back to that old tradition, and that is why I repeat that certain phases of disagreement are behind us.

"It is interesting," Dr. Jeszenszky continued, "that recently a friend of mine who is a Serb told me that he now looks differently on our concern for the Hungarians in Vojvodina, who remained there after loss of territory at the end of World War I. He says that now many Serbs live outside Serbia and Serbia must be concerned about their rights. In telling you this, I do not mean to say that Serbia must suffer as Hungary once did, but only to show how important it is to us how Hungarians outside Hungary are getting along. We understand your concern for Serbs outside Serbia, but I think that all of that can be resolved through agreements. In all neighboring countries, there will always be minorities, and they must be a bridge instead of a bone of contention. It really think that that is rhetoric, that is how I feel."

Everyone Has Minorities

[Logar] When you speak about good relations between neighbors, you are certainly speaking about the position of Hungarians in the present Yugoslavia and of Serbs in Hungary.

"Minorities are always part of the context of good relations. It is being demonstrated even in these times that the nationality is not going to vanish, neither in the West nor here. A man might be a good European, but he is also a Frenchman. A Frenchman with a European passport, I would say. You see that now the issue is being raised of the rights of the 20 million Russians left outside Russia when the Soviet Union disintegrated. Nationalities have such deep roots in culture, language, education, that it is just a question of our becoming accustomed to living beside one another in an atmosphere of tolerance. That is not impossible at all. The old Yugoslavia truly attempted to do something about that. It is not up to me to judge why it fell apart, but even at that point every nationality should have done everything to stop the horrible war, because it is damaging the image of all the South Slav peoples. When it is said that in the end the Serbs and Croats are not the same, this does not mean that they can no longer live in the same village or town. That is not an impossible utopia. I think that all of that could happen relatively quickly.

"We have come to the end of the communist era, Europe is slowly unifying even after such a lengthy division. It is time to bring about peaceful coexistence of ethnic groups, and not, above all, states, but peoples and ethnic groups in the region. Unless here in central and East Europe we work quickly to institutionalize such relations, I think that we will all soon be in the Lebanese situation, not just the former Yugoslavia.

"If we are to speak about the Hungarians in Vojvodina, I am not far from the idea that the status that the Serbs would have in Croatia would be good for them, which in no way signifies being shut up in some territory with no one else. I think that the church, both of them, could help us in this. In saying this, I am thinking about the schools, education, the right to the language. Their roots are there, and that is where all of them together should find the pathways of convergence, which would also help to strengthen good relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia.

"You have spoken about laws. I will not defend the former communist system here when it comes to the rights of the Serbs or Croats. After the Trianon in 1920, there were 10,000 Serbs here, but they were scattered, not always together in one place. I do not think that they are threatened by assimilation. Finally, there is elementary education in their own language, but also high school, for the 5,000 Serbs here now. I really think that the position of the Serbs in Hungary is not bad at all."

Dr. Geza Jeszenszky then spoke more as a historian about the illusions of the East that it will quickly become the West in the sense of democracy and prosperity, but also retain the privileges of the two systems, about nationalism on both sides of Europe, about many disappointments and unforeseeable turns taken by events. As we parted, he told us:

"In the time that I have been involved in politics, I unfortunately have discovered and have had to understand that in politics it is not your intellectual convictions that count, but, above all, ways of resolving conflicts of interest. At conferences and in negotiations, it is not important whether you are intellectually right, but how you reconcile interests through compromise. And in the final analysis, the way something seems is more important than the way it actually is."

[Logar] A lesson in politics for a university professor?

"Yes, and a very bitter lesson."

Jeszenszky Cites Commitment to Chemical Arms Ban

LD1401161293 Budapest MTI in English 1212 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Paris, January 14 (MTI)—"Hungary is committed to the fastest possible implementation of this agreement, which bans the production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons, and which provides for the destruction of existing arsenals," said Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, after signing an international treaty banning chemical weapons, in Paris on Thursday.

Jeszenszky said that 1993 had begun particularly well for disarmament.

The Hungarian Government warmly welcomed the START-2 agreement signed recently and believed that both accords had been made possible by the deep ongoing changes that were taking place in the world, mainly in Europe.

Defense Official Welcomes Supply of Russian Arms

AU1301212993 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Jan 93 pp 1,3

[Unidentified correspondent's report on interview with Lt. Colonel Imre Fulop, senior researcher at the Strategic and Defense Research Institute of the Hungarian Defense Ministry; place and date not given: "It Seems Advisable To Accept the MiG-29s"]

[Text] Answering our question, Imre Fulop said that the 26 MiG-29 aircraft allegedly offered by Russia to balance its $800 million debt to Hungary could be incorporated into the arsenal of the Hungarian Army without any special difficulties. At the same time, we would not be able to make an efficient use of the air defense missile systems requested by Hungary—a system similar to the U.S. Patriot air defense system—without the necessary surveillance and location satellites.

According to Imre Fulop, regarding their flight and weapons systems, the MiG-29's are equal to the U.S. F-16's; the MiG-29's are only lagging behind the F-16's in their electronic equipment. As opposed to the MiG-21 and MiG-23 aircraft currently in use in the Hungarian air defense system, the MiG-29 can be used not only as an interceptor, but it can be used well for the destruction of land targets and the support of land troops, given its considerable firepower.

The approximate price of MiG-29 aircraft is $20 million apiece, and $25 million with its additional equipment. The deployment of such high-level military technology generally ranges from 10 to 15 years from the date of production. Given the fact that the Russian side cannot offer other weapons that are also important for us, it seems advisable to accept these world class combat aircraft. Our military airports are suitable for the MiG-29's. Given the fact that these weapons were developed for field use, their servicing system is simpler and does not require engineering training. The retraining of the flight and maintenance personnel could be done in six months, and the full deployment of the aircraft would probably need a training period of 16 months.

Speaking about the air defense missile system, Imre Fulop said that officials have information about a new Russian air defense system similar to the U.S. Patriot missiles. However, this new system is extremely expensive, and given the current military technology, it is only worth using it as a part of an entire air defense system. The surveillance and location satellites, which the Hungarian arsenal does not contain, greatly contributed to the efficiency of Patriot missiles against Iraq's Scud missiles.

Health Cooperation Accord Signed With Slovakia

LD1301224393 Budapest MTI in English 2047 GMT 13 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 13 (MTI)—Hungarian Social Welfare Minister Laszlo Surjan and Slovak Health Minister Villiam Sobona signed a cooperation agreement on health, at Komarom, a Hungarian town on the common border, on Wednesday.

Addressing a press conference on the Slovak side in Komarno, the ministers said that although both countries considered the Hungarian-Czechoslovak health agreement still valid, the document should be revised urgently. To this effect, the ministries would set up a working committee composed of specialists in social security, finance and local government.

The two countries agreed to continue providing expert treatment to patients from one another's countries who needed immediate care.

Slovakia sought Hungary's assistance in the fields of cardiac surgery and neurosurgery, and would continue to buy Hungarian medicines.

Surjan emphasized the importance of cooperation between medical universities, which should also be extended to post-graduate training and student exchange.

Both ministers said that although their talks had not touched on definite political affairs, the meeting had a political significance. They agreed to hold similar meetings in the future.

In his capacity of acting president of the European regional committee of the World Health Organization (WHO), Surjan informed his counterpart about the endeavours and aims of WHO, with special regard to the current situation in East-Central Europe.

Procedure To Allow Fast Military Action Proposed

LD1401220693 Budapest MTI in English 1956 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 14 (MTI)—Due to the Yugoslavian crisis, the Hungarian Defence Ministry proposes amending the Constitution. The amendment would follow from the defence bill, which the Cabinet discussed today in the first reading, Lieutenant-General Antal Annus, administrative state secretary of defence, said at the government spokesperson's briefing on Thursday evening.

The amendment would make it possible for Hungary's armed forces to react more quickly to a possible enemy incursion. To this effect, the ministry initiates that the border guard should become part of the Army only in case of emergency. (At present, the border guard forms part of the Army and, under the Constitution, the Army's deployment is subject to parliamentary approval.) The ministry proposes that in peacetime some units of the border guard should be authorized immediately to take up the fight with the smaller forces that might cross the border.

The amendment would also affect the organizational rules of the command of the Army. In case of a major enemy incursion, the ministry argues, there would not be sufficient time for "the constitutional road to be covered," namely for coordination with the highest public dignitaries of the country. For this reason, the amendment would authorize the cabinet to deploy not more than two Army brigades (about 5,000 troops) to avert prompt danger. The cabinet would be obliged to inform Parliament simultaneously.

The bill requires a two-third majority in Parliament.

Expansion of MDF Steering Committee Planned

93CH0279B Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 31 Dec 92 p 4

[Interview with Laszlo Medgyasszay, press spokesman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "New MDF Board; Direct Line to the Membership"]

[Text] Various figures have been published recently in connection with the new steering committee of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. The reports estimated 120 members in one case, and several hundred in another; thus, we are dealing with very different assumptions. What is the real situation, and what is behind the numbers? This is what we asked press spokesman Laszlo Medgyasszay.

[Medgyasszay] Today the steering committee of the MDF is indeed a limited forum. By creating a larger steering committee, we would like to expand democracy within the party. Thus, the goal is not to decrease or obscure organizational democracy, as some suggested. This will be a larger community, but one which could be "mobilized" quickly if necessary, because, for instance, it is more difficult to convene a national conference.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] How many members will this greater community have?

[Medgyasszay] There are some people who know this better than I do. One of the newspapers actually reported that this body will be composed of all of the representatives of the parliamentary faction, the resigning members of the current national presidium, and some members of the current steering committee. This idea is news to me.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] What is your idea?

[Medgyasszay] I can only tell you my personal opinion, because the national convention can make a different decision. In my opinion, the faction is so big that only a certain number of representatives can be considered. What the final number or participants in the new steering committee will be, be it 120, 240, or 210, cannot be determined now.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] On what principle will the steering committee be formed?

[Medgyasszay] According to one concept, the MDF organizations of every election district would send a representative from among their own members. This means 180 people. To them one must add the 20-member presidium elected by the national convention, and a certain portion of parliamentary representatives. The essence of this reorganization will be to establish a direct line between the leadership and the membership in the countryside. The local organizations can question their own delegates about what happened in the steering committee, what political decisions were made, and why. This is what I would consider good, that is to say, practical and really democratic.

Democratic Leader Criticizes MDF Nationalists

AU1301212393 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Jan 93 pp 1,4

[Attila Gy. Fekete report on interview with Viktor Orban, faction leader of the Federation of Young Democrats; place and date not given: "The MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] Is Inciting a Civil War Atmosphere"]

[Text] In the harshest possible way, prominent politicians of the coalition's biggest party threatened those electors who voted for the opposition in 1990 and those who now support the opposition. This was the main outcome of the past weekend, Viktor Orban of the Federation of Young Democrats told NEPSZABADSAG, assessing the statements made at the national meeting of the Hungarian Democratic Forum's [MDF] populist-national circle.

Orban says that the MDF's prominent politicians intended their flood of threats not so much for oppoistion politicians but much rather to those people who voted for us in 1990 or who now have started to sympathize with us.

It cannot be accidental that Interior Minister Peter Boross said that aliens and those who have an alien spirit have to be excluded from the country, Orban stated. Istvan Csurka's reasoning had been heard not long before this, from which everyone could clearly understand that "those people have an alien spirit who are not Hungarians." Who is actually a Hungarian would, according to the indications, be decided by Csurka and his group; and not even based on genetic examinations. It emerged from the speaker's words that they are aware of the needs of the Hungarian people and the people are aware of their [Csurka's] program, and these two coincide.... In addition to the above, Orban expressed his regret about the message of the weekend: "The opposition is equivalent to the enemy."

"The MDF is not willing to recognize that it would not get more votes at the 1994 elections by generating a civil war atmosphere in the country and searches for enemies everywhere, instead of promising calm and acting in the interest of what could actually be expected of a government party."

According to Orban, the MDF is trying to use the threats to keep the experts away from the opposition. Csurka warns that only those people who side with them are considered Hungarians; in other words, those who are members of the MDF or at least support the once calm force.

In his speech, [Prime Minister and party chairman] Jozsef Antall said that the coalition would need at least one more election cycle to implement the change of the regime. Antall also said that, before this time, he could not pass on the right to govern with a clear conscience to anyone else, Orban noted. The country will be able to cope very well with the situation if Antall happens to pass on this power with an uneasy mind. Fortunately, it is not him but the electors who decide for how long they vote confidence in the Antall government, Orban stated, according to whom last weekend the MDF began its dance of death, rather than its election campaign. A person who wants to gain votes by making threats is not aware of what he is saying. Antall needs another four years to implement the Csurka program, to establish a government-supporting opposition for himself, and to exclude all those people from public life who, according to him, are not "true Hungarians." Answering the question of why he believes that they will not be able to implement the Csurka program, Orban said the following: By 1994, the MDF will not be as strong as the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party was in 1990, and what happened to the once all-powerful state party....

Opposition Sees Radio, TV Independence in Danger

LD1501000293 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Following the resignation of the media presidents, the opposition parties now consider the independence of radio and television to be endangered. The Alliance of Free Democrats, the Hungarian Socialist Party, and the Federation of Young Democrats have separately outlined their stances on the media issue. The Alliance of Free Democrats and the Federation of Young Democrats both suggested to Arpad Goncz that he consider their opinion, according to which, if the head of state relieves the television and radio presidents, with the lack of a six-party consensus, the impartiality of the two institutions will become endangered.

The radio faction of the Community of Hungarian Journalists, the Council of Radio Workers, and the Radio Studio Artists' Association also announced their stances today. In their opinion there is nothing to worry about, and it is not true that the government would want to intervene in the internal matters of the radio.

Yeltsin Adviser Comments on Bilateral Relations

WS1401134693 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 0700 GMT 14 Jan 93

[From the "Panorama" newscast]

[Text] Within the next few months, Boris Yeltsin will probably visit Poland, Sergey Stankevich, the Russian president's adviser, stated to "Panorama." The exact date is not yet known, but very intenstive preparations are under way. Russian experts are preparing answers to all the questions asked by President Lech Walesa in his recent letter to Boris Yeltsin. The questions concern Polish-Russian relations in general, the common history, and the present.

[Begin Stankevich recording in Russian with superimposed translation into Polish; identified by screen caption] Russia is now observing Poland because it is very important for us to have such a partner which is reliable, stable, and interested in developing relations with Russia. For us, Poland is a bridge, in a way, in the relations with other European countries. Poland has a border with Kaliningrad Oblast, where a very special situation has developed. And apart from this, Poland is a country which has relatively successfully embarked on reforms, which we, too, would like to do. And there is also the traditional sympathy of the Russians toward the Poles. I hope that you feel the same way toward the Russians, even though our history had many difficult moments. There are also certain prejudices. There is some inertia, caused by a lack of trust. This is, in my opinion, historically grounded, but it can all be overcome if one looks not only at the past, but also to the future. [end recording]

Defense Ministry Reforms Seen as Inadequate

AU1301161193 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 1 Jan 93 p 4

[Article by former Defense Minister Romuald Szeremetiew: "Terra Incognita"]

[Text] The press, radio, and television have reported the changes introduced to the Polish Army since 22 October 1992 by Janusz Onyszkiewicz, minister of national defense. "A capable administrator," wrote the postcommunist WPROST. "At last he has fulfilled the plan he worked on when he was vice minister of defense under Piotr Kolodziejczyk."

Polish People's Army Two

The Polish "People's" Army was an integral part of the Warsaw (in fact, Moscow) Pact, geared to the strategic tasks set by the USSR leadership. The Soviet command wanted the Polish People's Army to provide armed strength for a single front of land forces as part of the army of "peace and progress" that would attack the West. The commander was to have been a Polish People's Army general, who in peacetime was chief of the Main Administration of Combat Training.

In fact, the Polish People's Army's main task was to permit the transit through Poland of Soviet forces proceeding on a "mission of liberation" to Bonn, Brussels, and Paris. Therefore, the Polish People's Army expanded its engineering forces, maintained large supply depots, and created huge structures of ministry bureaucracy, especially those involved in the distribution of equipment.

But the Polish General Staff only controlled the land forces, mainly the overexpanded supply and support services. The Navy was under the direct command of the chief of the Soviet Baltic Fleet, and the Air Force was under the command of the relevant Soviet Air Force leadership. So as far as the Navy and Air Force were concerned, the Polish General Staff did not have much to say. When former Prime Minister Olszewski appointed me minister of national defense, I was surprised to realize that the armed forces restructuring plans that were then being drawn up only applied to the land forces and that the ministry contained no command cells responsible for the Air Force and Navy. Moreover, the chiefs of the navy and air force were entitled to do as they wished, without even consulting the defense minister.

Minister Onyszkiewicz's "reform" has done nothing to alter this situation. The Navy and Air Force still do not have their own command cells inside the General Staff, which, according to the defense minister, is supposed to be the command body of the armed forces. It is a "funny command" body if it has no command over the Navy and Air Force. The supply division still has the highest number of career posts, whereby the training branch has 23.3 percent of all army career posts, the strategic planning branch has 23.6 percent, the organization and mobilization branch has 13.6 percent, and the logistics branch has 40.4 percent. There is no doubt that Minister Onyszkiewicz has left intact the basic organizational principle that was in force in the Polish People's Army. But the question arises: Why is the minister creating a kind of Polish People's Army Two?

An Army Behind a Desk

Another odd "invention" of Minister Onyszkiewicz's is the division of the Defense Ministry into a "military" branch and a "civilian" branch. A "civilian" branch of a defense ministry is something unheard of in other countries. In all democratic countries, a civilian defense minister is generally responsible for the armed forces, and he is answerable to the prime minister, parliament, and head of state. As defense minister, he controls a unified mechanism of defense. The Americans say that the army is too serious to be left in the hands of generals. There is no doubt that in a democratic state it is very dangerous for military people to break away from parliamentary control. That is why all free nations today place civilian ministers at the head of their armies. In Germany and Austria, which have had particularly sharp

experiences in this sphere, the civilian defense minister's position is so strong that he has the powers of a commander in chief of an army in peacetime, whereas in wartime the commander in chief is the chancellor, also a civilian. Everywhere, too, the chief of the General Staff is answerable to the defense minister. The chief of the General Staff is sometimes considered an adviser, sometimes even the defense minister's first adviser, but never is he considered an independent army commander capable of competing with a civilian defense minister for authority. The current Polish chief of the General Staff, promoted to the rank of brigade general on 11 November, has enormous powers. He has been granted additional powers by the president, so that he can now effectively bypass the defense minister in military matters.

When establishing his civilian and military Defense Ministry branches, Minister Onyszkiewicz set up a Ministry leadership consisting of duplicate departments, administrations, and offices. For example, within the civilian branch he created a Department for Education and Training and a Bureau of Physical Culture, and in the military branch he created an Education and Training Administration and a Physical Culture and Sports Administration. There are two sets of departments for personnel, financial, and legal affairs. As a result of all this, the Defense Ministry is overstaffed. The Swedish Defense Ministry only has 150 posts, 20 percent of which are staffed by officers, for an army of 100,000 men. This double bureaucracy inside the Polish Defense Ministry will only cause disputes over power, competition, and intrigue. The creation of all these departments and administrations without previously specifying exactly what they are supposed to do might also be a way to preserve jobs inside Defense Ministry central institutions.

After all this, it seems odd that in the Defense Ministry there are no cells responsible for training and that there is no order of priority for military training. When I prepared changes in the army, there were three spheres I considerd worthy of top priority. They were personnel affairs, in other words purging the professional cadres of people unsuitable for leadership posts; a reform of the special services (separating intelligence from counterintelligence and making them loyal and efficient instruments in the hands of the defense minister); and military education and training (giving them special status). This topic is particularly important because military colleges train the young officers and NCO's [non-comissioned officers] of the independent Republic. These people are the future of the Army, and it cannot be indifferent to anyone how they are going to be trained. Minister Onyszkiewicz has failed to take care of these things. However, he has taken care of elderly gentlemen in command of briefcases and desks. The army seated behind desks inside the Defense Ministry can sleep in peace.

A Blind Minister

To have effective command over the army, especially in its current condition, the civilian defense minister should have several sources of information independent of each other. Under the People's Republic, he had four or five such sources. The General Staff must have an intelligence cell responsible for gathering information on the armed forces and military potential of other countries. Without this, it is difficult to obtain the information necessary for performing operational tasks and prepare the armed forces for wartime activity.

Many changes were made to control and information-gathering cells in 1990 and 1991. The Internal Military Service was combined with the Second Administration of the Polish General Staff (intelligence) to form the Military Information Service, whereby to all intents and purposes counterintelligence was made answerable to intelligence. As a result, the chief of the Military Information Service is beyond the control of the defense minister, and has absolute freedom to examine and manipulate information.

I am sure the changes to the special services were planned by Jaruzelski's people for a time when the defense minister's post was occupied by someone from the "hostile camp." For such a defense minister the army was meant to be terra incognita. Minister Onyszkiewicz has probably not noticed this, for not only has he preserved the ideas of General Siwicki [defense minister under Jaruzelski], but he has actually added to them. For instance, he has made the deputy chief of training inside the General Staff responsible for the Main Command of the Military Police. This is an odd idea. The Defense Ministry organizational structure that has been adopted virtually deprives the defense minister of the possibility to check data. It seems that the armed forces are under the defense minister's control and supervision only in theory.

With Its Back To NATO

The defense minister's decision creates a confused and contradictory system of command over the independent Republic's armed forces. This is contrary to the rules in force. Minister Onyszkiewicz has settled by means of directives matters that should be settled by means of legislation. I do not suspect him of being an amateur, but why has he bypassed the Sejm? Why has the Sejm Defense Committee been placed before a fait accompli? The defense minister never even bothered to tell it about his directives beforehand. He only did so later, at the request of the parliamentary club of the Movement for the Republic.

There is a saying about the Moor who has finished his work and is told that he can go. Minister Onyszkiewicz has worked out and implemented a concept that deprives the Sejm of control over the army and makes the defense minister post redundant. Today, the ministry can function without a defense minister. Is that what he was meant to do? In an interview with POLSKA ZBROJNA

(13-15 November), Minister Onyszkiewicz said that "we will have fulfilled the main criterion for NATO membership when we adapt our structures to those of NATO and when there is full civilian control over the army." Considering Onyszkiewicz's latest actions, it would seem that his words and deeds are very far removed from each other. The people in NATO will soon see that our Defense Ministry structures do not bear much resemblance to NATO. In the same interview, Onyszkiewicz said: "The Army can be destroyed in six months, but it takes decades to rebuild it." On 5 June, Prime Minister Pawlak-designate appointed Onyszkiewicz defense minister. On 5 December, he had already been defense minister for six months.

Interests of Defense Industry Said 'Ignored'

AU1201170193 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 7 Jan 93 p 1, 3

[Report by Wojciech Kuczak: "No One Protects the Defense Industry"]

[Text] Why did no one warn representatives of the Radom "Lucznik" plant that they were going to end up in an American trap in Frankfurt (the Russians were warned by their intelligence service in good time)?

Why did no one check the authenticity of the hypothetical German purchasers of our patrol boats before their talks with Cenzin [state agency trading in weapons]?

SZTANDAR MLODYCH has obtained information from well-informed sources that provide an unambiguous answer to those questions. The truth is alarming: No one protects our defense industry, neither the Office of State Protection [UOP] nor the Military Intelligence Services. A few weeks ago, in a conversation with the author of this report, Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz said that the Office of State Protection said that overseeing transactions such as the one that was at the bottom of "the gun affair" should be dealt with by the UOP. It certainly is not the responsibility of the Military Intelligence Services. Meanwhile, the head of the UOP informed Senator Romaszewski with disarming frankness that in his opinion, the protection of the defense industry is the responsibility of the Military Intelligence Services, headed by General Izydorczyk and directly accountable to the head of the Ministry of National Defense.

The conclusion is harsh. We now know that "the gun affair" and the boat affair" occurred because no one looks after the interests of our defense industry.

As we were told by a high-ranking state official who wishes to remain completely anonymous, that there is a legal loophole, and in light of that, he does not feel responsible for protecting the functioning of the defense industry. As both laws on the two Polish special services—the law on the UOP of 6 June 1990 and the law on the Military Intelligence Services of 25 October 1991—do not state precisely who is responsible for the defense industry and who should safeguard weapons transactions in Poland, no one does anything.

We have learned that "the gun affair" and "the boat affair" have caused genuine alarm in the Military Intelligence Services and have caused them to wake up. The Army, we were told, has proposed certain measures that should quickly close the loophole regarding responsibility. Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz will shortly submit concrete plans at a government meeting.

SZTANDAR MLODYCH has established that until 1989 responsibility for protecting the defense industry rested with the Internal Affairs Ministry, or in other words with the Security Service. The counterintelligence branch of the Military Internal Service only protected military motor-repair plants scattered across the country. The Military Internal Service, we were told, "also provided discreet protection to groups of officers assigned to some industrial plants."

The disbanding of the Military Internal Service entailed the closure of 35 regional military counterintelligence units and a 70-percent reduction in the number of full-time posts.

Lithuanian Minority Receives Assurances

AU1401222193 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Jan 93 p 2

[Report by Ewa K. Czaczkowska: "Concern for Culture and Language"]

[Text] Lithuanians living in the northeastern tip of Poland, in Suwalki Voivodship, will probably be able to exchange marriage vows in Lithuanian very soon, promised Deputy Prime Minister Pawel Laczkowski during a meeting on Monday [11 January] with representatives of the Lithuanian minority in Poland in the person of Eugeniusz Pietruszkiewicz, chairman of the Association of Lithuanians in Poland; and Romuald Witkowski, chief executive of the district of Punsk, 85 percent of whose population consists of Lithuanians.

Deputy Prime Minister Laczkowski said that the Poles would be able to discharge all their commitments vis-a-vis the ethnic minority, and that Polish democracy can only profit from good cooperation between all the nationalities that live in Poland. The prime ministers of Poland and Lithuania met several days earlier.

Eugeniusz Pietruszkiewicz handed Laczkowski a list of postulates that representatives of the Lithuanian minority submitted to the Presidential Chancellery in March 1991 but that Pietruszkiewicz claimed have still not been acted upon.

Most of these postulates concern the propagation of the Lithuanian language and culture. The use of Lithuanian in civil registry offices would apply to a few districts of Suwalki Voivodship that contain close-knit Lithuanian communities. Pietruszkiewicz also spoke of introducing

Lithuanian as the second official language in other administrative offices. Bilingualism, Laczkowski said, should be based on reciprocity. "If we adopt this principle here, then the same principle should also be adopted vis- a-vis Polish communities in other countries."

The Lithuanians want Lithuanian-language radio broadcasts to be transmitted on long or short wave so that Lithuanians all over Poland can hear them. Laczkowski said "it might be possible to arrange something." The Lithuanian minority also hopes that the local government reform in Poland will bring back the district of Sejny.

Other Lithuanian demands include the setting up of a Lithuanian-language elementary school in Sejny and the publication of a Lithuanian language textbook for elementary schools, an anthology of Lithuanian literature, and a Lithuanian history textbook that also includes local history.

Last year, the Ministry of Culture and Art allocated 1 billion zlotys for Lithuanian cultural initiatives. The same amount has been earmarked for this purpose this year. The Ministry has also approached the voivode of Suwalki with a request to allocate 1 billion zlotys to complete the construction of the House of Lithuanian Culture in Punsk, in return for which Lithuania will build a House of Polish Culture in Niemenczyn near Vilnius.

This is the third meeting Pawel Laczkowski has had with representatives of ethnic minorities in Poland. He has already met Gypsy and Ukrainian representatives. His next meeting will be with Belarus representatives.

Planning Chief Views Prospects for 1993

PM1201093093 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 4 Jan 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Minister Jerzy Kropiwnicki, head of the Central Planning Office, by correspondent "H. S." on 30 December 1992; place not given]

[Text] [GLOS PORANNY] How do you view the new year 1993? What can it bring us?

[Kropiwnicki] I believe that this depends largely on two factors. First, on further development of the social situation in our country; second, on whether another major climatic disaster comparable to last summer's prolonged heat wave and drought occurs again this year. Provided that the situation is reasonably normal and that workers' protests do not last too long, causing uncontrollable inflation, then I believe that we can look into 1993 with a large dose of optimism.

[GLOS PORANNY] What are the reasons on which you base your optimism?

[Kropiwnicki] You cannot avoid feeling optimistic knowing that at present industrial production is increasing and that there is a good chance for a further considerable increase. I expect that in 1993 our industrial production will be about 2 to 3 percent higher than in 1992. At the same time inflation should fall by some 10 points. In addition, we should end the year 1993 with a credit value in our trade balance sheet.

[GLOS PORANNY] Nevertheless, unemployment is still expected to rise, as are real wages...

[Kropiwnicki] That is correct. Despite the fact that we continue to observe a growing number of positive trends in the economy, unfortunately in many areas negative phenomena will continue to grow in intensity. However, we predict that from the second half of 1993 the rate of their growth will continue to decrease, and from the beginning of 1994 onward the situation will actually be reversed and start showing a change for the better. Here I am thinking specifically about unemployment and real wages. The year 1993 will be the last year registering an increase in unemployment figures and a decrease in real wages. I should, however, reiterate here the fundamental condition for such a state of affairs: no natural or social disasters which could affect the economy. In any case, I believe that we will be able to maintain the advantageous tendencies in the economy which appeared as early as several months ago. This is because they provided evidence of a certain resistance to such natural and social disasters as a summer drought and summer strikes, even though both these kinds of setbacks certainly weakened the impact of the positive tendencies emerging in the economy.

[GLOS PORANNY] The government has announced that it would hold talks on the economic situation in the Lodz region. What issues should find themselves on the agenda of the promised talks?

[Kropiwnicki] The government's agenda contains a permanent point maintaining an interest in the problems of the regions threatened with a particularly high increase in unemployment figures. Here we are talking about unemployment caused by structural factors. In this sphere we need not only a major study of the problem but also a set of working solutions. When I held the post of labor minister, I introduced a scheme for a partial redistribution of resources allocated for combatting the consequences of unemployment. I had the impression that the Lodz region had been previously somewhat underprivileged in this respect as regards access to resources available though the labor fund, the social welfare assistance fund, and the disabled persons assistance fund. With the help of my two deputy ministers—both of whom, as a matter of fact, came from Lodz—we managed to achieve a state of affairs in which Lodz was no longer treated like a poor relation. However, that project was directed mainly at reducing the negative consequences of unemployment. The essential question concerning us now is how to bring about a situation in which new jobs can be created to replace those which have disappeared already and are threatened at present;

furthermore, we must find ways of encouraging people who show enough entrepreneurial ability to create their own jobs.

[GLOS PORANNY] What do you expect the results of your Lodz talks will be?

[Kropiwnicki] I am not impressed by the supposed magic potential of talks held around a conference table. You can talk on any subject anywhere. In my opinion, it is much more important to find ways of solving the problems which are at the core of all talks. The crucial factor here is the preparation of a correct program which will identify and deal with all the essential problems of the situation in the Lodz region. If talks can help in identifying these problems, so much the better. But I am concerned that talking about and around the problems could take the place of real efforts to find solutions to these problems.

[GLOS PORANNY] Do you believe that there is a possibility of strikes erupting also in Lodz?

[Kropiwnicki] Lodz has always demonstrated a special application of the virtues of common sense and mature approach to these problems. This is because the inhabitants of this city are first and foremost born winners. If ever Lodz has been seen to choose action, it was only when it could confidently expect a positive outcome of this action. In other words, it was never sufficient in Lodz to state that there were valid reasons to strike. What was also needed was the conviction that a strike would bring a tangible victory. In my opinion, the question of whether Lodz will join protest actions depends on Lodz workers' assessment of whether or not they are likely to gain something worthwhile by joining those actions.

Sejm Committee Accepts Government Budget Plans

LD1401171493 Warsaw PAP in English 1306 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 14—The Sejm Committee for Budget and Finances accepted the parts of the 1993 budget draft law concerning revenues and expenditures of the Ministry for Foreign Economic Cooperation, the Ministry of Transport and Maritime Economy and the Ministry of Communications.

The Sejm committee for Budget and Finances accepted also the government proposal of earmarking 16 trillion zlotys (some 1.1 billion dollars) for the servicing of Poland's foreign debt.

The budget law envisages that the state expenditure on railway and road transport would amount to some 17.5 trillion zlotys in 1993 while on telecommunications and post to nearly 427 billion zlotys (around 30 million dollars).

Statement Denounces Iraqi 'Provocations'

AU1401160093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] In a press communique sent by fax to our editorial board, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania points out that it took note of the operations initiated in the last 24 hours by the United States and certain partners of the international coalition, in the wake of Iraqi provocations and repeated violations of the Security Council resolutions on the cease-fire terms in the Gulf conflict. These operations amount to a warning for Iraq and an unequivocal indication of the international community's determination not to tolerate in any way the violation of these resolutions.

We find it profoundly regrettable that the sustained efforts made in recent days by the international community to avoid a new confrontation, including the statements of the Security Council president, met with no response from the Iraqi authorities. These authorities persisted in disobeying their obligations and commitments assumed in accordance with the Security Council resolutions. As emphasized in its communique on 13 January, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is convinced that the strict implementation of the Security Council resolutions is the only way to normalize the situation in the Gulf.

We express the hope that, in the wake of recent developments, the Iraqi Government will understand its serious responsibility for any violation of obligations arising from these resolutions and will adopt an attitude that can facilitate the process of politically settling the situation and reestablishing peace in the Gulf.

Protocol on Cooperation With Moldova Signed

AU1501093793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0814 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/1/1993—The master protocol signed on January 14 in Bucharest stipulates among other things encouragement of tourist exchanges between the two parties, with special stress on the exchanges organized by travel agencies, the development of the cooperation between commercial companies and economic agents in the Republic of Moldova and Romania, through the setting up of joint ventures, the collaboration based on contracts in the building and operation of new tourist projects or the updating of the tourist units in existence, the attraction of tourists from third markets through joint programs of tourist activities.

According to the protocol, Romania will give scholarships to fellow nationals in Moldova for specialization in tourist management and will organize periodical working meetings between experts of the two ministries. Romania also pledges to support the participation of representatives of the Republic of Moldova in international fairs and shows.

Government, Trade Unions Continue Negotiations

AU1401195293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Government-trade union talks have resumed today at Victoria Palace [government headquarters], with the participation of representatives of the Consilva, Alianta 15 Noiembrie, Construct, Cooperatia, Metal, Cosim, the National Trade Union Block, Fides, Hercules, and the Miners' Unions' Confederation of Romania union organizations. The government is represented by State Minister Misu Negritoiu, chairman of the Council for Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform; Mr. Iacob Zelenco, the special government representative for ties with trade unions and employers; and experts of the involved ministries.

Government sources announced previously that the main issues to be discussed are: the presentation of the principal coordinates of the reform strategy and of the economic restructuring plans and the search for the best methods to maintain a dialogue between the sides on those issues. The same sources said that today's talks will be centered on issues similar to those discussed at yesterday's meeting with the National Consultative Council. These issues include the conclusion—at national level—of a collective labor contract and the system of wages to be applied in 1993.

Government, Unions Sign Protocol

AU1401214293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] The government's press office has announced that during today's talks between governmental and trade union representatives, the following things have been agreed upon: To eliminate social tension that might be generated if several protocols were to be signed and to offer the executive the chance to avoid being accused of behaving in a discriminating and inconsistent way while dealing with social issues of national interest, the Consilva, Alianta 15 Noiembrie, Construct, Cooperatia, Metal, Cosim, Fides, Ceres, Hercules, Univers trade union confederations, the Miners' Unions' Confederation of Romania, and the National Trade Union Block have decided to accept—for once—to sign a protocol containing an identical text to the one signed by the government's representatives on 13 January, also accepting the schedule for the next talks to be held to negotiate the issues contained in the protocol.

The communique is signed by the representatives of the mentioned trade union confederations.

Party Leader Coposu To Sue Iliescu for 'Slander'

AU1401221793 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Jan 93 p 1

[Report by Roxana Iordache: "Mr. Corneliu Coposu Intends To Sue Mr. Ion Iliescu"]

[Text] After the presidential accusation regarding the nongranting of the most-favored-nation status due to opposition to it coming from Romania, Mr. Corneliu Coposu [president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party] asked the U.S. State Department to provide the minutes of the talks conducted last summer between the Democratic Convention delegation and U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger. Upon receipt of that document countering Mr. Iliescu's allegations, Mr. Corneliu Coposu intends to sue the country's president for slander. Moreover, Mr. Iliescu violated his constitutional status, since Romania's Constitution does not permit the country's president—"the president of all Romanians"—to launch polemical arguments about a party leader.

FSN Criticizes Current Government Leadership

AU1401200793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1800 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/1/1993—Petre Roman, president of the National Salvation Front [FSN], during a press conference held on Thursday, January 14, criticized the current political leadership of Romania, especially about "the poor way in which it tried to prevent and fight corruption."

Adrian Severin, high-ranking member of the FSN, set forth "the latest considerations of the government representatives concerning the intentions for economic reform," underscoring the contribution of the former Petre Roman government, "so well structured" in the "Viitorul Azi" (The Future—Today) motion which had been adopted by the FSN convention [in spring 1992].

Doru Viorel Ursu, former member of the Petre Roman and Theodor Stolojan governments, opined that local administration was confronted by "a purge on political grounds, impossible to refute legally" but in disagreement with the status of the public employee, which requires professionalism, competence, and managerial abilities, while those qualities "did not come into consideration in the current dismissals of prefects."

Future Government Initiatives Outlined

AU1401200993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1856 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/1/1993—For the nearing parliamentary session (February) the Romanian Government has released a packet of 50 bills.

The basic targets of that legislative program are to continue, develop, and perfect the normative framework for the economic reform, to give agriculture a fresh start, to improve social protection, to consolidate democracy and the state of law, to institutionalize the constitutional requirements, to enforce lawful order and fight crime and especially corruption, and to continue and perfect the reformation of public administration, justice, public order, national defense, education, health, science, culture, and other fields.

The Government sees the following bills as priorities and intends to submit them to Parliament:

The bill on the return tax.
The bill on the stock exchange.
The bill on the VAT [value-added tax].
The bill on the excise tax.
The bill on public debt.
The bankruptcy bill.
The bill on the management contract and the status of public corporations.
The bill on production means' sinking.
The bill on the organization of the agricultural credit.
The bill on land improvement.
The bill on the state's monopoly on trade with spirits and alcoholic beverages and consumer taxes.
The bill on the juridical status of the homes appropriated by the state under various circumstances.

At present the two chambers of parliament have 17 bills ready for debate and 25 bills in the specialized commissions.

Over the short time span since it took office (November 20, 1992) the current Romanian Government has submitted 12 bills, has issued 102 government ordinances covering a fairly comprehensive range of regulations, it has released 58 government decisions as well as 48 notifications and reports which required a vast amount of organizing at both government and at ministry level.

Serb 'Parliament' To Vote on Peace Plan 19 Jan

AU1501131093 Paris AFP in English 1244 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Excerpts] Belgrade, Jan 15 (AFP)—The self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb parliament is to meet Tuesday [19 January] in Pale outside Sarajevo to respond to the Geneva peace plan for Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia state television said here Friday.

The announcement follows the European Community's giving Thursday the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, six days to accept the plan unconditionally. Bosnia-Hercegovina neighbors Serbia. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, a Western diplomat here has flatly denied Croat news agency reports that Serbian aircraft bombed the east Bosnian town of Srebrenica Wednesday.

"The Serbian aircraft in Bosnia have not carried out a single attack for at least a month," said the diplomat.

The HINA agency [Croatian news agency] had said that 19 people were killed and 20 others wounded in two raids on the town by three Serbian aircraft.

However, Serbian artillery and armoured cars were launching a fierce attack on Srebrenica, which has a recorded population of 38,000, mostly Moslem, according to reports here.

Izetbegovic Reacts to Karadzic Acceptance of Plan

LD1401222093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] The conditional acceptance by the Bosnian Serb leader represents an end to the self-proclaimed Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but this political victory for Bosnia-Hercegovina is still threatened by the efforts of many top-ranking European officials, President Alija Izetbegovic, of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, stated upon his return to Sarajevo. In a front-page interview published in today's OSLOBODJENJE, the Bosnian president reiterated that he refused to accept that the ethnically cleansed areas in Bosnia-Hercegovina could remain even temporarily under the control of the army that perpetrated the ethnic cleansing.

Having accepted the Geneva conference peace plan on Tuesday, leader of the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina Radovan Karadzic was compelled to give up the concept of the Serb Republic and recognize the sovereignty of the Bosnian state, which was recognized by the international community on 6 April last year, Izetbegovic said. But, Karadzic must explain this to all those whom he dragged into the war, Izetbegovic added, explaining the turnabout in the Serbian policy by the fact that Karadzic understood that international reaction could turn into action.

The political success achieved in Geneva gives chances for the embargo to be lifted, weapons for our defense purchased, and also the Serb heavy weapons to be removed by a military action. If the Serb assembly in Bosnia-Hercegovina does not accept Geneva conclusions, our political and military position will be additionally strengthened, President Alija Izetbegovic said.

Karadzic Comments on Geneva Plan, Maps

AU1401231493

[Editorial Report] Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian at 2106 GMT on 14 January carries an "exclusive" interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Belgrade Television correspondent Ratko Dmitrovic. In the 20-minute recorded interview, the place and date of which are not given, Karadzic speaks primarily about of the peace plan proposed at the second round of the Geneva talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina.

When asked to comment on the six-day ultimatum set by the EC for the assembly of the Bosnian Serbs to take a position on the Geneva plan, Karadzic replies: "I personally believe that the EC with its arrogance and brutality does not even try to conceal that is has been dictating the disintegration of Yugoslavia down its own lines all along. The ultimatum is outrageous because it demonstrates that we will probably have to accept certain things under pressure." He says further that "the EC should know that the Serbs should not be presented with ultimatums." "I, of course, hope that our Assembly will endorse this plan, that is to say, approve our move, our acceptance of the plan. However, an ultimatum can only make things worse, as it is known that no nation that takes pride in itself would accept ultimatums, but would act contrary to them. In this sense I believe that the EC has made everything harder for us, as it is now less probable that the plan will be accepted."

Then Dmitrovic asks Karadzic to explain what pressures he encountered during the second round of Geneva talks. Karadzic replies that "the pressures were enormous" but adds "that we would not have accepted the document had we not also seen a chance for the realization of our goals in this way." Here he also expresses his opinion that "the international community has entered the twilight zone." He says that "after all the precedents set in the case of Yugoslavia, by destroying Yugoslavia and pressuring the Serbian nation, nothing will be the same again."

Dmitrovic notes that "it can be deduced from last night's EC stand that they recognize your parliament, that they, in a way, recognize reality." Karadzic replies to this: "This is a powerful affirmation for our parliament. On several occasions the negotiators inquired whether something would be passed by our assembly." He concludes by saying "that we have conquered some heights that we will never abandon again. What their form will be and how they will be called is actually not the most important thing right now. What is important is that we have conquered what is essential. Since the battle of Kosovo [in 1389], the Serbs have never had their own territory in Bosnia-Hercegovina, meaning their authority over these

territories, organs that must implicitly be recognized by the international community while their explicit recognition will come, if and when such a constitution is implemented."

Dmitrovic then asks Karadzic: "Assuming that the Assembly of the Serbian Republic [in Bosnia-Hercegovina] endorses the signing of the paper, discussion about the map will then ensue in Geneva. Do you expect that this will be a more difficult task?"

Karadzic answers: "I believe that this will be the most difficult part of the task. However, we propose and demand that the issue of maps be treated democratically. This must essentially be a democratic issue in the sense that we now have numerous communes that are indisputably Serbian, Croatian, or Muslim. These communes should be singled out first, and then the controversial communes should be dealt with democratically. Therefore, the local population must be asked where it wishes to live." When asked by Dmitrovic whether this implies a referendum, Karadzic continues: "This can be done through a local referendum or in any other way. Basically, we must ensure a democratic solution to the problem of the maps. We have certain interests of our own that we will never abandon, like the issue of the corridor. There can be no discussion about it; this must be ours come what may. We must have a land corridor between Semberija and Bosnian Krajina. This is a vital issue for the republic of Serbian Krajina. Then, we have continuity of our territory from Sarajevo toward the Drina River; there are villages of ours there, and we want them to be incorporated also. There will probably be some passages—as there are between Israel and the Arabs— and so forth, so that, for example, two parts of Muslim territory could be linked and two parts of Serb territory also. This will be no problem, but this must be ensured.

Dmitrovic here notes that the map proposed by Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, cochairmen of the Geneva conference, "rules out these corridors." He asks whether "this could be an issue on which you would diverge completely?" Karadzic replies: "I believe that it would not be in their interest for the conference to fail on the issue of maps. At the end of the day, there is a certain reality. We hold nearly the entire Bosnian Sava River Basin, and this reality will play a significant role. Second, I believe that nobody can force us to accept maps that would make life impossible for us. We will reject them outright. That is to say, we will realize a factual situation that will make it possible for us to have an integrated and linked territory."

When asked about relations with the Bosnian Croats and possible contested territories, Karadzic says: "You see, the Croats got more than they wanted. They said openly to me during our bilateral talks [in Geneva] that they do not know why they were given Donji Vakuf, as they had not demanded it. I said that they should ask themselves about Kupres, which is 57 percent Serb and 40 percent Croat. This is a commune that should, to a great extent, belong to the Serbian canton, that is to say, province. We should abandon communal boundaries, which are highly unjust, and the republican borders that used to apply during the former regime and concentrate on population zones. Therefore, a commune should be broken up and divided—the Serbian villages and parts of towns to belong to the Serbs, Muslim villages to the Muslims, and Croatian villages to the Croats. The Croats got a lot. Their conquests in the Neretva valley were granted to them, including the Trebinje commune, which we will, of course, contest. We have a dispute in the Neretva valley, we have a dispute around Kupres, in Donji Vakuf, in Jajce where we could strike a compromise so that we each get something, and in the Bosnian Sava River Basin, which is called Province No. 3. In this province more than 50 percent of territories are Serbian, that is, Serb-owned according to the land registry books. Second, the population is nearly half and half. Therefore, this province, if it remains Province No. 3 might just become Serbian entirely."

Commenting on the position of Russia toward Bosnia-Hercegovina, Karadzic says that "Russia definitely has its own problems, and at the moment it is not in a position to seriously counter the creation of a new world order that is being created to its detriment." Regarding [Russian Foreign Minister] Kozyrev, Karadzic says "we cannot expect open support from him, as he is simply a man of a certain profile, but I believe that we can expect support from the entire Russian nation and from Russia as a whole." Here Karadzic expresses the conviction that "the erosion of the Serbian nation and its territories will end at some point."

Officials Support Karadzic Stance at Talks

LD1401193493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0709 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Bileca, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—The decision by Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, to accept a draft constitutional concept of future arrangments for Bosnia-Hercegovina, as proposed by Cyrus Vance and David Owen, the two cochairmen of the Geneva conference on former Yugoslavia, has been met with a varied response in Hercegovina.

The Serb side has not signed anything that can be interpreted as a risk, Bozidar Vucurevic, president of the Trebinje Municipal Assembly has said. "This is merely one small move to make both Europe and the world realize that Bosnia-Hercegovina will have to be partitioned. We have shown our good will to talk and to reach a peaceful solution. The Serb Republic will remain an entity on the basis of either a peaceful solution or, God forbid, a war," Vucurevic said.

According to Obren Batinic, president of the Executive Council of the Bileca Municipal Assembly, said that such an outcome of the Geneva conference was to be expected and would be received by the deputies of the Serb

Republic Assembly with understanding. "The very concept of a decentralized federation guarantees, above all, that there will never again be a unitary, let alone an Islamic Bosnia-Hercegovina as it used to be, or as Alija Izetbegovic hoped for. At the time when the entire world is against us we could not expect to achieve anything else," Batinic said.

"Karadzic's acceptance of the draft document can in no way be considered as a final act," Mitar Lazetic, president of the Gacko Municipal Assembly said. According to him, the Assembly of the Serb Republic will reject any plan which is against the interests of the Serb people. "We must not forget the victims of this war. The Serb nation cannot agree to be in a subordinate position in the new state," Lazetic stressed.

Colonel Milenko Milinic, assistant commander of the Hercegovina Corps, said the following about the outcome of the Geneva conference: "In my view Karadzic has acceptred nothing that is against the interests of the Serb nation and its just struggle. The most important aspect of the future constitutional arrangment document is that it envisages a consensus of the three nations in making decisions about the most vital issues. The issue of borders and other details can be the subject of further negotiations."

Lukic Predicts Assembly Rejection of Plan

LD1401170593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Banja Luka, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—The Serbian nation has been under attack many times in its long history. Many foreign interests were advanced at the expense of the Serbian people. The same is true now, but I do not believe that Serbs will make the same mistake again: that they will win freedom through fighting, that they will form their own state, and then give up everything to others. For this reason, I do not believe that deputies [of the Bosnian Serb Assembly] will renege on what they decided at the last session held in Bijeljina. I do not believe that they asked for one thing then, and will now accept something different, the prime minister of the government of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dr. Vladimir Lukic, said in an interview for today's issue of GLAS SRPSKI of Banja Luka.

In Geneva our delegation and especially President Radovan Karadzic, Lukic said, were put under extreme and constant pressure to accept at any cost, including the threat of a possible military intervention, a blueprint for Bosnia-Hercegovina which suits only Croats and partly Muslims. "I say that, even under this threat, Serbs must be true to themselves, that they must not accept being divided into provinces which are nothing other than municipalities in another guise."

Why did not the West put forward a solution giving the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina natural ties with Serbia, and why did they allow this to Croats? Why is the Serbian nation broken up and isolated, Lukic asks. No, we shall never accept such a solution. Clearly, we in the government had all this in mind, including a possible foreign military intervention. I am not saying anything about details, but things will be much clearer after the next session of the Assembly of the Serb Republic, Lukic concluded.

Izetbegovic Says Europe 'Full of Chamberlains'

AU1401143993 Paris AFP in English 1427 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 14 (AFP)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic has warned that the West's compliant attitude could undermine the Bosnians' "political victory," in his first comment after returning from the Geneva peace talks.

He said the last-minute decision by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic to accept the Geneva-sponsored peace plans signalled the death of the self-proclaimed Serbian Republic of Bosnia.

But he warned that there are "numerous Chamberlains" in Europe today who could scuttle the Bosnians' "political victory"—a reference to the British prime minister Neville Chamberlain who sought to appease Hitler by signing the 1938 Munich agreement that allowed the Nazi annexation of part of Czechoslovakia.

Izetbegovic's comment appeared in a long interview Thursday [14 January] in OSLOBODJENJE, the only daily still publishing in the Bosnian capital after nine months of Serbian siege. The interview was earlier quoted by Sarajevo Radio.

Izetbegovic again said he would refuse to allow any areas of the republic that were "ethnically cleansed" to remain—even temporarily—"under control of the army that carried out this ethnic cleansing."

Karadzic, the former psychiatrist who now heads Bosnia's Serbian nationalist separatists demanding a Serbian "state within a state", agreed under pressure late Tuesday to the peace plan. It calls for 10 autonomous provinces under a multiethnic central government.

The Bosnian president said Karadzic had been "forced to give up his Serbian Republic" and accept the sovereignty of the Bosnian state, which was recognized last April 6 by the international community.

But he warned that Karadzic now "had to explain all this to those he led into war," who opposed Bosnian independence and fought to carve out a territory allied with Serbia.

Karadzic Wednesday asked for a week to get his parliament to approve the plan and said he would resign if they refused, as the European Community gave Bosnian Serbs six days to accept Geneva proposals or face total world isolation.

Izetbegovic speculated that Karadzic had yielded to pressure because he "understood that the (international) reactions could turn into action."

But he said the Bosnian political victory is not yet "either clear or complete" because "Europe is full of Chamberlains" who are "ready to sacrifice a country in the name of an illusory peace."

Though their republic won international recognition nine months ago after breaking with the old Yugoslav federation, Bosnians have since complained bitterly that they were "let down" by western democracies. They cite notably the arms embargo which they insist has allowed the Bosnian Serbs—who received weapons from Belgrade—to seize 70 percent of Bosnian territory.

Nonetheless, Izetbegovic said that political success achieved in Geneva would give Bosnians "a chance to see the embargo lifted and to obtain defensive weapons", as well as to "demand the elimination of (Serbian) heavy weapons by military action."

The Bosnian Serb parliament is expected to take a decision on Tuesday. Should it refuse the Geneva proposals, "it will still be to our political and military advantage," Izetbegovic said.

But even if they do, the Bosnian president—who opposed any ethnic partition of the republic—said the map for a future Bosnian state must still be "improved". Though the 10 provinces were "not far from our proposals" they are "still based too much on ethnic criteria," he said.

Izetbegovic Urges Air Attacks on Serb Artillery

PM1401142693 Milan IL GIORNALE in Italian 13 Jan 93 p 12

[Interview with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic by Marco Ventura in Geneva; date not given]

[Excerpt] Geneva—[passage omitted] [Ventura] Mr. President, if diplomacy fails, what will Bosnia ask of the United Nations?

[Izetbegovic] Failure will be a consequence of Serbian rejection of constitutional principles. A "no" from them would mean that the war continues and genocide continues. International military intervention would be the only thing left.

[Ventura] In concrete terms?

[Izetbegovic] We do not ask for troops on the ground. But we do expect air attacks against Serbian artillery.

[Ventura] You stated that Serbia is using the Geneva conference in order to continue aggression in the field...

[Izetbegovic] I said it and I repeat it. Serbia is using Geneva as a cover. In reality it has two faces, the peaceful one in Geneva and the other one, which kills.

[Ventura] [Serbian President] Milosevic seems to be softer than Bosnian Serb Karadzic [Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina president]...

[Izetbegovic] They are one and the same thing. They are only acting out roles. Milosevic and [Yugoslav President] Cosic encourage Karadzic to continue the war. Without Serbia, Karadzic and his army could only hold out two or three weeks, no longer. They would have no food, water, or ammunition. This means that there is a secret agreement between Milosevic and Karadzic.

[Ventura] In a previous interview with IL GIORNALE, you said that you would never negotiate with Karadzic because his hands are steeped in blood...

[Izetbegovic] Emotionally speaking, I would never have done so. But a number of rational motives persuaded me to come to Geneva.

[Ventura] Could Clinton taking over from Bush in the White House lift international reluctance to intervene in Bosnia? Clinton seems more determined.

[Izetbegovic] Let us hope so. We followed Clinton's election campaign closely. We noted all his declarations on Bosnia and we expect him to keep his promises, nothing more, nothing less. We do not expect a radical change, but a more active policy.

[Ventura] What role will Yeltsin's Russia play?

[Izetbegovic] I do not think Russia will veto the proclamation of a no-fly zone.

[Ventura] The war looks like being a long one. Who will win?

[Izetbegovic] It is a war that was forced on us. We are still weak and they are still strong, but with every day that passes we become stronger and they become weaker. Furthermore I have seen, in Paris and in the United States, that public opinion and the media are behind us. The governments will have to take this into consideration.

[Ventura] What do you expect from Italy?

[Izetbegovic] A more active role. So far, and I do not know why, it has been slow, passive. It should take more decisive initiatives for building peace. You are our good neighbors, we have the same mentality.

Karadzic: 'They Will Not Send Troops'

AU1401174993 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1705 GMT 14 Jan 93

["Excerpt" from an "exclusive" interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina, by an unidentified reporter of the Radio and Television Serbia; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Karadzic, do you expect that the centers of world power that were hitherto rather anti-Serbian will try to realize their goals through a military intervention?

[Karadzic] You see we Serbs are used to military interventions. There were several military interventions—World War I, World War II were both military interventions—but we survived them, albeit with great losses. This now would be another matter. To tell you the truth, we have never made our decisions under the pressure of a possibility of a military intervention. We know that they will not send troops. Regarding what they have done to Iraq, for instance— the possibility that they would destroy our positions with aircraft by night—well, this would not harm us significantly and would not bring a turnabout in the war. Our people in our republic are very spiteful in this respect, and they demand that we make decisions thinking exclusively of the Serbian interests and not of pressures and ultimatums. Although I say that this is precious to us, they are frank in their ultimatums and pressures, and they admit it, and this will be remembered in history as a very dark period, a dark side in the history of European countries that are behaving so arrogantly and daringly.

Well, our decisions should definitely keep a possible intervention in mind, but essentially we are making our decisions just as if the threat of an intervention did not exist. However, I personally believe that there will be no military intervention.

[Reporter] Mr. Karadzic, thank you for this interview.

UNHCR Claim 'All Sides' Attacking Convoys

AU1501115793 Paris AFP in English 1127 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, Jan 15 (AFP)—All sides in the Bosnian conflict are firing at United Nations' aid convoys, said United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) spokeswoman Silvania Foa here Friday [15 January].

"The U.N. is becoming a target. No one is respecting the humanitarian nature of these convoys," Foa added.

Speaking the same week that a British soldier was killed and a French soldier wounded among the roughly 6,600 U.N. troops in Bosnia, Foa said there was a daily average of two attacks—either mortar shells or sniper fire—on U.N. personnel.

"The extent of disrespect, on the part of all parties, towards humanitarian action is increasing," she added.

UN Relief Column Heading for Besieged Town

AU1501082293 Paris AFP in English 0241 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Report by Patrick Lescot]

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 15 (AFP)—Amid reports that nearly 400 people have died of hunger and cold in the eastern Bosnian town of Zepa, a U.N. relief column was due on Friday [15 January] to try and take the first supplies there in eight months of siege by Serb forces.

General Philippe Morillon, the commander of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Hercegovina told a press briefing that a relief convoy from Belgrade would arrive Thursday evening at the headquarters of Serbian forces in Pale, 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) northeast of here.

After spending the night there, he said the convoy would set out early Friday for Zepa, which is about 130 kilometers (80 miles) to the northeast of the capital in a small enclave still controlled by Moslem forces.

Earlier on Thursday, a spokesman for the U.N. High Commission for Refugees said in the Croat capital of Zagreb that the eight-vehicle convoy, loaded with 50 tonnes of food and 30 tonnes of medical supplies, had been held up for several hours by Serb forces in the town of Zvornik.

He said the Serbs initially said the convoy did not have the requisite authorisation to pass. However a few hours later, they agreed to let it through.

Zepa, 70 percent of which has been destroyed by shelling, has received no relief supplies at all in the eight months in which it has been under siege, according to Arif Smajkic, Bosnia's chief health official.

Reports received by radio from the only doctor still in Zepa, Becir Heljic, say that a total of 377 people, 220 of them young children, have died of hunger, cold and other ailments in the town during the siege.

Heljic's figures were judged to be "reliable" by two World Health Organisation envoys at Morillon's press conference here Thursday.

Heljic said that in recent weeks, temperatures had sunk regularly to below minus 20 degrees centigrade (minus 4 Fahrenheit) and that the population was now too weak even to dig graves to bury their dead.

Bosnian Information Minister Senada Kreso said Tuesday that there was "not a gram of flour or salt" left in Zepa. Half of the 10,000 people who lived there before the war had fled, but the 5,000 remaining have been joined by about 25,000 Moslem refugees from other areas.

Most of the houses have been bombed to bits and the people are living in what shelters they can find or build out of the rubble, he added.

On Monday the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees' envoy in Bosnia Jose-Maria Mendiluce said the situation in Zepa was "very worrying" but he said Bosnian proposals for supplies to be parachuted into the town could not be envisaged without prior agreement with the Serbs.

He said the HCR had made three abortive attempts to get through to Zepa, on December 31 and on January 3 and 8 but the missions were forced to turn back because of both deep snow and gunfire.

Morillon said Thursday that if the Serbs besieging Zepa tried to stop the convoy there was "no question" of the U.N. soldiers using force to get into town. He said British U.N. troops would be escorting the convoy.

Meanwhile seven other convoys totalling 71 lorries were due to set off Thursday from Metkovic in southern Croatia carrying 460 tonnes of humanitarian aid for the people of Sarajevo, Zenica and Busovaca in central Bosnia and Grude and Capljina in the south, U.N. sources in Zagreb said.

Serb TV Station Says Zepa Reports Fabricated

LD1501113893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1059 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 15 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb TV station "Kanal S" based on Pale (the administrative center of the Bosnian Serb Republic) carried on Thursday [14 January] evening an authentic recording of a talk between Moslem radio-amateurs who were fabricating news of the suffering of the Moslem population in Zepa, Mt. Romania (east of Sarajevo), for propaganda purposes.

[Words indistinct] in the talk recorded by the signal corps of the Army of the Serb Republic, the Serb state in Bosnia-Hercegovina, a doctor from Sarajevo, Becir Heljic, was instructing a radio-amateur in Zepa to report on Friday of "the deaths of 86 civilians, 51 of whom were children under 7".

At the end of the conversation, Heljic advised that broadcasts cease in a few days to highlight the dramatism of the situation and that "nothing should be done without collusion so that we are not found out".

The whole propaganda operation is based on the fact that Zepa, populated by Moslems, is completely surrounded by Serb villages, POLITIKA said.

POLITIKA fears that the population of this mountainous area could be threatened by famine, because it has always been inaccessible [words indistinct] isolated in winter, even in peacetime.

UN Commission Investigating Assassination Arrives

LD1401210493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1630 GMT 14 Jan 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 14 (TANJUG)—A commission appointed by U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali to investigate the circumstances surrounding the murder of Bosnian Moslem Vice-Premier Hakija Turajlic has arrived in Sarajevo, TANJUG learns at the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Belgrade office.

The commission, which arrived in the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina on Wednesday [13 January] afternoon, is headed by the U.N. secretary-general's special representative for Western Sahara and former Pakistani foreign minister, Sahabzada Yakub-Khan, and the commander of the U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), Swedish Army General Lars-Eric Wahlgren.

The commission, which comprises also Colonel Charles Corberand of UNIFIL and Colonel Royal Kampmann of UNPROFOR, is by the end of the week to submit to Butrus-Ghali a preliminary report on the incident, which took place in the vicinity of Sarajevo Airport on January 8, when Turajlic, who was in an UNPROFOR vehicle, was shot and killed by a Bosnian Serb trooper.

The incident occurred at a Bosnian Serb Army checkpoint, where the UNPROFOR armoured transporter was stopped while carrying Turajlic behind Serb lines without clearance. Turajlic was abusive of the Serbs, shouting insults at the guards manning the checkpoint, and managed to provoke a man who had lost most of his family to the Moslem hatchet to shoot him.

Silajdzic on Crematories, UN Role in Conflict

PM1401142093 Milan IL GIORNALE in Italian 13 Jan 93 p 12

[Interview with Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic by Marco Ventura in Geneva; date not given]

[Text] Geneva—"The crematories really do exist; they are in western Bosnia. I have received various reports about Prijedor, in the Kozara region. Unfortunately no one can go there. The Serbs have denied access to the humanitarian bodies. They do not want witnesses to the atrocities they have committed. Around Prijedor there have been mass killings; unfortunately the exact number is unknown to us. Not even the Red Cross has been able to investigate." Muslim Alija Izetbegovic, president of Bosnia-Hercegovina, confirmed the testimonies published in yesterday's IL GIORNALE concerning the existence of crematories in the areas occupied by the Serbs. Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic, who received us in the lobby of a Geneva hotel, went into even greater detail. When we mentioned the crematories, he lowered his gaze and leaned on the back of his chair: "We knew about it. In Bosnia all sorts of things have happened, even that. It is shocking, horrible. People were burned in a sort of pit. There are ovens for purifying raw materials; they were burning them in there. We are preparing a dossier."

[Ventura] Mr. Minister, what do you feel when you see Serbian President Milosevic and Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic walking about in the UN corridors?

[Silajdzic] These people have been granted a sort of general amnesty. It is a case without precedent in history, that criminals on such a large scale should have access to international institutions.

[Ventura] How do you explain so much indifference still toward what is happening in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Silajdzic] Good question. It is the fault of inertia, of the moral vacuum. There is a tendency to keep things as they are until the blood is lapping at your doorstep. The war in Bosnia reflects European tensions, but all this will cost you dearly. We are at a crossroads: Either we build peace or we head toward new racial conflicts. Europe has failed here, in Bosnia, in nine months of slaughter. Because this is not a war, it is genocide. It is not a struggle, it is assassination. Look what they have done to Vukovar, Dubrovnik, Mostar, and Sarajevo. It is something which lies outside any rule of civilization.

[Ventura] The solution?

[Silajdzic] We ask that all measures be taken to apply the UN Security Council's resolutions, and especially for the heavy artillery to be placed under the control of the international forces. While we were here talking of peace, Sarajevo was bombarded again, Srebrenica was attacked by airplanes, and our government's Deputy Prime Minister Turajlic was assassinated despite the UN escort.

[Ventura] And if the Serbs refuse to hand over their heavy weapons?

[Silajdzic] It must be brought about using all means, including military means. Then it will be necessary to halt Serbian terrorism with air raids on their artillery emplacements, ammunition stores, airports, and arteries of communication.

[Ventura] Will the international community ever make such a decision?

[Silajdzic] All decisions are up to the United Nations. We ask that we should at least be allowed to arm.

[Ventura] UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali was demonstrated against in Sarajevo...

[Silajdzic] That is true. Butrus-Ghali should answer one question. Why are UN resolutions on Bosnia not applied? What has he done to get them applied? Why is the UN forces' peacekeeping role not changed into something more, since the country is devastated by genocide? Is there still any peace to keep, has there ever been any? Can the sovereignty of other countries under attack be more sovereign than Bosnian sovereignty?

[Ventura] Is there a real difference between the positions of the Serb leaders? Milosevic, Cosic, Karadzic...

[Silajdzic] No difference. Aggression comes from Serbia and Montenegro.

[Ventura] Will Karadzic ever accept a sovereign, independent, and unified Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Silajdzic] Not only does he not accept the unified state, he does not even accept the decentralized state; in short, he does not accept the state. He wants the division of Bosnia, which is a sovereign and independent country, a member of the United Nations. Karadzic's problem is that he cannot go and say to his people: We started the war and we have lost. He would be asked why, why 200,000 people have been killed, why 1.5 million refugees have been expelled. Karadzic would be politically dead.

[Ventura] Do you expect support from the Islamic countries?

[Silajdzic] Our problem is first and foremost European. Bosnia-Hercegovina is one of Europe's oldest countries. The coat of arms on our flag is ancient and goes back to an ancient European dynasty. Our borders were not defined just now, nor during World War II, but during the Berlin Congress (1878) and even earlier. Bosnia was a kingdom 800 years ago. It is Europe!

'Fierce' Muslim Attack on Croat Villages Reported

LD1501133393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Muslim forces in the Gornji Vakuf municipality launched attacks on the mainly Croat villages of Panic Polje, Bilic Polje, and Trnovaca early this morning. This was revealed at a news conference by Veso Vegar, spokesman of the Defense Department of the Croat Defense Council.

A fierce artillery attack was launched on the Croatian part of the town just after 0800. Croat Defense Council members were forced to return fire after the Croat part had become enveloped in smoke.

Muslim forces tried to launch several infantry attacks on the Croat parts of Gornji Vakuf last night. They set fire to Croat houses and business premises, Veso Vegar said, adding that Muslim extremists killed Vinko Sapina [not further identified] in the village of Luzani [13 km west of Sarajevo].

Units of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army have blocked all roads and have been preventing even the movement of ambulance vehicles. One wounded youth was killed yesterday by sniper bullet while he was being transferred in an ambulance. Four Croat Defense Council members were killed and 28 wounded.

According to the spokesman, Croat Defense Council members are trying to normalize the situation, but, if forced, they will use all available means, tanks and artillery included.

It is significant, Veso Vegar said, that yesterday the commander of Muslim forces gave orders to open artillery fire after a ceasefire had been agreed. It was also

confirmed that members of Muslim units were opening fire on UN. Protection Force bases and that blue helmets [UN troops] returned fire.

Sarajevo Radio Confirms Reports

AU1501140493

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 15 January in its regular 4-minute newscast carries two reports on fighting in the republic.

Reporting from Bugojno, correspondent Hamid Ajkovic says that "there was no peace on the Bugojno battlefield last night either. The enemy attacks were targeted in particular on defense lines in the direction of Donji Vakuf and these lines were exposed to provocative fire from heavy machine guns and other infantry weapons during the whole of last night. There were no casualties on the side of the Army members in Bugojno, who are holding positions at the side of Donji Vakuf."

"Although the morning announcement of the Information Service of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Bugojno said that the situation in Gornji Vakuf has calmed down, we have learned that fierce fighting was continuing at some localities in Gornji Vakuf last night as well. This is also confirmed by the fact that more wounded were brought from Gornji Vakuf to the Bugojno field [ratni] hospital this morning. Therefore, it is obvious that despite the efforts of the state commission of Bosnia-Hercegovina (?and) the joint commission of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Bugojno and the Croatian Defense Council, who are doing everything they can with a view to settling the clashes in Gornji Vakuf, much more good will is going to be needed on the part of the participants in the conflict to implement all that the representatives of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Bugojno and the Croatian Defense Council agreed upon in Gornji Vakuf two days ago through the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mediation. As I report, detonations from artillery weapons can again be heard from the direction of Gornji Vakuf."

Reporting from Capljina, correspondent Milan Vego says that "according to the Command of the First Brigade of the Croatian Defense Council [words indistinct), (?during the last night) the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor carried out provocations by opening infantry fire in the region of Hodovo and the [name indistinct] Height."

Clashes Reportedly Subsided Earlier

LD1401191593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Report by correspondent Slavko Rako for Croatian Radio from Hercegovina]

[Excerpt] According to the latest report from the defense department of the Croatian Defense Council of the Croatian Herceg-Bosnia community, the situation in Gornji Vakuf, where a few days ago clashes between members of the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army broke out, is normalizing. Sporadic shooting from infantry weapons and only a few shell explosions can still be heard.

In the course of joint talks [between Croatians and Muslims] today, an agreement was reached to set up a coordination body composed of representatives of the Croatian Defense Council, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], and to ensure that both sides release captured soldiers whose weapons are to be returned subsequently.

According to the present assessment by the Croatian Defense Council, complete normalization of the situation can be expected today. [passage omitted]

Travnik Battle Reports Denied

LD1401220293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] We have received a statement from the Travnik headquarters of the Croatian Defense Council saying that there have been no clashes between Croats and Muslims in Travnik or between the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army. This denies reports by Bosnian public media that there are clashes in Travnik. There have been clashes recently, but in Novi Travnik and Gornji Vakuf.

Muslims Launch Attacks on Serb Areas of Sarajevo

LD1401142293 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1015 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] At about 2200 last night Muslim forces launched a heavy combined artillery and infantry attack on the Sarajevo suburb of Nedzarici. The attack ended in the early hours of the morning, the information center of the Sarajevo-Romanija corps in Lukavica has reported. A Muslim attack from the direction of Dobrinja, Alipasino Polje, Stupsko Brdo, and Mojmilo was repulsed this morning with no losses on the Serb side.

Muslim artillery was active throughout the night against the Serb Army positions at Ilidza and Hadzici. At about 2000 the center of Hadzici came under attack from Mt. Igman from multiple-rocket launchers. Overnight Muslim forces used 155 mm-caliber howitzers and 120-mm mortar launchers to attack Zenik, Vela and Rakovica from the direction of Visocica. This attack was repulsed without losses.

On the Ilijas front heavy concentration of Muslim formations was observed overnight in the direction of Visoko and Breza.

The Sarajevo battleground has been quiet this morning but with usual provocations from infantry weapons along demarcation lines.

'Fiercest' Fighting in Bosna River Valley

LD1401201993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1831 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 14 (TANJUG)—Fighting continued on Thursday [14 January] in many parts of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The fiercest clashes took place on Thursday in the valley of the River Bosna (northern Bosnia), TANJUG's correspondents said, citing Bosnian Serb military sources.

TANJUG's Doboj correspondent reported that a general alert was sounded in that northern-Bosnian town several times on Thursday after Moslem forces based near Tesanj launched strong artillery attacks on Serb positions.

Radio Sarajevo, loyal to Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic, claimed that Serb units used mortars to pound Moslem positions and also attempted infantry attacks.

Serb military sources cited by TANJUG's Doboj correspondent also said that Moslems opened fire with artillery in the valley of the River Spreca (norther Bosnia), provoking a response from the Serb side.

Two Serb soldiers were wounded in the fighting.

TANJUG's Banja Luka correspondent, citing a statement issued by the First Krajina Corps of the Bosnian Serb Republic's Army, reported that the Novi Grad Brigade last night took Kadica Glavica, an important strategic location and observation position near Novi Grad (formerly Bosanski Novi, western Bosnia).

Sixteen Serb fighters were killed and 32 wounded in the past four days on the battlefield near Novi Grad.

Bosnian Serb sources also said that regular units of the Croatian Army positioned near Stitari had in the night between Wednesday and Thursday fired about 20 rockets from a multiple rocket launcher on Obudovac, causing no casualties or damage.

The village of Obudovac, which lies about 15 kilometres south of Orasje, lies on the road corridor which links Semberija (northeastern Bosnia) with Bosnian Krajina, in the west.

Croatian long-range artillery deployed in Zupanja, which lies in Croatia on the left bank of the border river Sava, during the night shelled Bosnian Serb positions near the village of Krepsic, northwest of Brcko.

Bosnian Serb military sources said no response had been made to the attacks.

Clashes also took place in the broader region of Bratunac (eastern Bosnia), where a Bosnian Serb military source told TANJUG that a strong Moslem offensive begun several days ago had been stopped on Wednesday evening.

Thursday morning was quiet in Sarajevo, said the SRNA news agency, which had by the early afternoon hours reported no major fighting there.

Radio Sarajevo reported that Serb attacks on Sarajevo had been 'stepped up'. Croatian Radio had a similar report.

Serb military sources in Bileca said that Croat-Moslem forces had in the night between Wednesday and Thursday launched provocations along the entire Hercegovina front, and that the Serb forces had not responded.

Heavy Fighting 'Renewed' Around Bihac

LD1401235093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2317 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Bihac, Jan 14 (TANJUG)—Croat and Muslim forces on Thursday [14 January] evening renewed heavy attacks on Bosnian Serb positions in the area of Bihac, in the northwest of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Bosnian Serb Army sources said that all attacks along the line of contact had been successfully repulsed and that all positions were under control.

The Croat and Muslim forces, backed by foreign mercenaries, opened fire from small arms and heavy artillery weapons. The attacks, launched from Cazinska Krajina, were repulsed with minimal losses, the Bosnian Serb Army source said.

The local command of the Bosnian Serb Army repeatedly warned over the past few days that Moslems in Cazinska Krajina, a Muslim enclave in northwestern Bosnia-Hercegovina, were regrouping forces and preparing an offensive against Bosnian Serbs.

Muslim forces in that area are particularly emboldened by a constant inflow of arms, which are transported by planes flying from Zagreb and Karlovac in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia to Cazin airport.

Croatian planes which violate the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Hercegovina fly mostly on that route, says the latest report by U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali submitted to the U.N. Security Council.

The report says that the no-fly zone was violated 20 times between December 23 and January 3, and that 15 flights were Croatian.

Over the past ten months, Bosnia-Hercegovina has been locked in a deadly civil war in which local Muslims and Croats, backed by 60,000 troops from Croatia and foreign mercenaries, are pitted against Bosnian Serbs.

Bosnian Serbs unilaterally proclaimed a cessation of hostilities in mid-December but it was rejected by the Muslim side.

Sarajevo Radio Reports Fighting, Air Attacks

AU1501110193

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 15 January carries within its regular 14-minute newscast several reports about fighting in the republic.

Reporting from Tuzla, Salih Brkic says that "there is no change in the Tuzla region; Chetniks still continue to attack, mostly by shelling." Brkic says that "it was like that last night, too, when Kalesija, the regions of Turija and Devetak [word indistinct], and Gornja Tuzla were attacked." Brkic continues: "Last night, the aggressor's helicopters attacked the free territory of Teocak, that is, the district of (?Snjeznica), with guided missiles and machine guns." Finally, Brkic says that "overflights by the aggressor's helicopters and aircraft were registered again last night. It was a group of three helicopters and one aircraft that flew along the Brcko-Pelagicevo line [words indistinct] at about 1900 but they did not carry out any combat operations."

Reporting from the Doboj region, Mirudin Aldobasic says that "battles in the Doboj region are not abating. The situation was the same last night until the early morning hours. Last night, after successfully defending themselves from chetnik attacks, fighters of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina in this region launched a counteroffensive. The night was very successful as they destroyed a tank in the region of (?Lipse)." Aldobasic concludes: "As I report, fighting is still going on in the Doboj region."

"The aggression and bestial attacks against Maglaj and its population are unabated," according to a correspondent whose name is indistinct. He reports that "in the evening hours, a dozen tank shells and mortar bombs were launched at the town last evening again." He adds: "Along the defense line of (?Bijela Cesta)-Jablanica, chetniks operated with recoilless guns and Praga guns."

Attacks at the Zavidovici Commune are continuing, according to a correspondent whose name is indistinct. "The enemy launched about 50 82mm mortar bombs at the region of [name indistinct]," and "on two occasions attacked the general area of the town with several howitzer projectiles launched from deep in the Ozren region." The correspondent also says that "the fiercest situation was in the region of (?Smailbasici) where a chetnik recoilless gun opened occasional fire, as well as in (?Rujnica) where the aggressor used mortars."

From Sarajevo correspondent (Senada Zamurovic) reports that "after a rather calm night, the aggressor's activity increased this morning. Thus, infantry fire can occasionally be heard on the outskirts of Stari Grad Commune. The situation is similar in the region of the Centar Commune whose outskirts are mainly shelled from [words indistinct]. According to available information, there is not much combat activity in the communes of Novo Sarajevo and Novi Grad. "

Sniper Opens Fire on Civilians at Airport

LD1401175293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1735 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 14 (TANJUG)—One civilian was killed and another wounded by sniper fire on the U.N.-controlled airport of Sarajevo in the night between Wednesday [13 January] and Thursday, TANJUG was told at UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] Belgrade offices on Thursday.

UNPROFOR said that the two were part of a group of 312 civilians stopped and turned back by the "blue helmets" during an illegal attempt to cross over the airport runway, and that it did not know which side had fired on the group.

Although over 100 French U.N. peacekeepers are patrolling the airport area, it is not always easy to stop all the people trying to cross over the runway - many of them are armed, UNPROFOR said.

UNPROFOR Sarajevo on Wednesday registered 309 shells fired on Serb-controlled parts of Sarajevo, with 300 landing on the territory controlled by the Moslem-Croat Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Nineteen relief flights landed at the airport on Wednesday, and U.N. troops also escorted five humanitarian aid convoys, UNPROFOR Belgrade said.

Interior Ministry Reports Serb Army 'Rift'

AU1401182293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs has announced that the rift between various interests in the so-called Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is widening. The most important one has recently been the total rift between the criminals Karadzic [Serbian Republic president] and Mladic [Bosnian Serb Army commander], that is, between their political and military leaderships.

This has led to a rift in the ranks of the Serbian Army, as armed clashes between the professional officers' corps and the voluntary chetnik hordes are not infrequent. They have been accusing each other of various crimes, wishing thus to wash all blame off themselves and place it on the other side in the expectation of trials that will most certainly be held. For every defeat, and they are a daily occurrence now thanks to the great successes of the defenders of our homeland, through armed skirmishes they accuse each other of the lack of contribution to the defense of Serbianism in an attempt to secure only for themselves the visa for a prompt getaway to Serbia and Montenegro.

Apart from this, almost all divisions of the war loot end in murder as the officers, pretending to be an organized state force, want this loot to go to some sort of a people's fund, while the chetnik volunteers want to keep it for themselves to have a financially safe future.

Turkish Newspaper Cited on Plan To Send Troops

LD1501145993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1259 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Ankara, 15 Jan (TANJUG)—The Turkish paper GUNDEM [as received] claims that "Turkey has been preparing to secretly send about 1,000 soldiers to Bosnia." The paper says "they are being prepared to enter Bosnia in small groups and in plain clothes."

This pro-Kurdish paper says that "a disembarkation was attempted at Sarajevo airport a few days ago, when a Turkish delegation headed by State Minister Orhan Kilercioglu arrived."

The paper says that "the Serb intelligence service found out about this and it killed Bosnian Deputy Prime Minister Hakija Turajlic on this occasion." This lesser known Turkish paper writes that "Turkish State Minister Orhan Kilercioglu met Hakija Turajlic and made a secret treaty on dispatching Turkish soldiers to Bosnia."

"Serbs found this out," the paper says, "and Turajlic was not killed by mistake, but according to a plan. Some military experts say that it was a miracle that the Turkish delegation managed to leave Sarajevo airport unharmed."

The Turkish pro-Kurdish paper bases its article entitled "Secret Disembarkation in Bosnia" on the anonymous testimony of soldiers who are preparing to go to Bosnia and by General Staff officials.

Bosnian Serb Premier's Program Described

93BA0464B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jan 93 p 13

[Article by M. Maric: "The War Will Still Continue"]

[Text] Banja Luka—Prof. Vladimir Lukic, the prime minister-designate for putting together the Serbian Republic of Bosnia's new government, the second one, has undoubtedly set high goals for his future cabinet. During his first appearance in the Republic's biggest city, Banja Luka, Lukic promoted the idea of creating the kind of prerequisites that would allow the Serbian Republic to gain international recognition. One can only approach that goal, he said, by creating a united civilian authority, which, in his opinion, is virtually impossible without a law-governed state.

A Krajina resident by birth (he was born in Dabar near Sanski Most), Lukic achieved recognition as a prominent expert on geodesy and a university professor in Sarajevo. Lukic wants to form an expert and authoritative government in which, he says, people will be willing to sacrifice themselves and work day and night. Their goal is to create a unified civilian government.

"There are now two parallel authorities in the Serbian Republic—the Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs," he said. "Things can no longer go on like that. We also have to say what kind of army we want. I think that the government's defense minister should be a civilian. If he were a soldier, however, he would have to have the highest rank."

It can be surmised at this time that the defense minister in Deric's former government, Colonel Bogdan Subotic, who submitted his resignation back in the summer, will not enter the new cabinet, while the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Justice will be considerably strengthened. Some former ministries will continue to function, and will be reinforced with two new government ministries, namely ministries for veterans' and refugee affairs.

Under conditions in which war is raging and causing new casualties every day, but on the other hand an increasingly larger class of people enriching themselves from other people's misfortunes is being created—by stealing public and national wealth, all with the blessing of the people in power—Lukic did not say a word about war mobsters. He announced, however, that his cabinet would urgently organize the registration of property in the Serbian Republic. It will be a sort of property inventory in all the municipalities. In particular, the center of attention will be usurped property, whether the usurpers are in the Serbian Republic or outside it.

"We will ask all those who usurped property once nicely, and then we will ask them to return it a second time, but if they do not do it a third time, appeals will not be sent," Lukic said.

With respect to the economy, Lukic singled out two strategic goals—reviving production, especially special-purpose production, and the spring sowing. Lukic thinks that it is possible to alleviate the shortage of personnel in the economy, because a large number of experts have left for the front, by agreement with the Army—"We have to win the war in all sectors."

According to its prime minister-designate, other significant jobs also await the Serbian Republic's new government—consolidating payment transactions with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, resolving the financial status of veterans and the families of deceased soldiers, solving the energy problem, reviving production, and above all, the unfinished war.

"We must not leave the Sarajevo battlefield, where large Muslim forces are concentrated. In that case the entire Romanija plain would fall," Lukic said in Banja Luka, and on the occasion of his visit to Hercegovina, he emphasized: "We do not know how long the war will last. All predictions are relative. We have to proceed from the assumption that it will last for quite a long time, and prepare ourselves on that basis."

UN Forces Reject Serb Request for Surveillance

LD1401184493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1634 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 14 January (TANJUG)—The Minister for Foreign Affairs in the government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, Slobodan Jarcevic, has demanded on behalf of his government the help of the United Nations Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] in establishing the extent of damage in the area of Western Slavonia. The UNPROFOR has rejected this demand without any explanation, the Serb Krajina's ISKRA news agency has announced.

This is a matter of those areas where ethnic cleansing and enormous material destruction have taken place. Organs of the Republic of Serbian Krajina have certain evidence that the Republic of Croatia has earmarked these areas as a nuclear waste site.

Jarcevic suggested to the UNPROFOR, as ISKRA reports, that aerial photos of the said areas be taken to estimate the possibility of refugees returning home.

The UNPROFOR Deputy Director for Civil Affairs in Belgrade, Mr. Jolanda Oze, has replied, the statement goes on, that "Krajina's organs themselves must be aware of the political implications stemming from their demand" and suggested that this matter be discussed at future talks and negotiations.

The office of the government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina has regarded the UNPROFOR's refusal as yet another piece of evidence of the ill-will the UNPROFOR is demonstrating regarding the Serbian side's propositions because mere aerial photos—carried out in the interest of the return of refugees, something the UNPROFOR is advocating in a declarative way—"can have no political implications."

Assembly Delegation Returns From Albania

LD1401222693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] A delegation of the Croatian Assembly, headed by Assembly Speaker Stipe Mesic, has just returned from Albania. We are pleased with the welcome we received and the results of the visit, Stipe Mesic said. Much help came from the community of Albanians in Croatia in making the visit possible. Albanians in Croatia represent a bridge of cooperation between Croatia and Albania, Mesic continued. Albania is interested in economic cooperation, but also in cooperation in the sphere of defense. Although the war is over, a part of Croatia remains outside the Croatian sovereignty, while Albania is awaiting the development of the situation in Kosovo, which could drag it into a possible conflict. The Croatian delegation is pleased with the visit, and cooperation will continue at the highest level, Mesic said.

The Croatian delegation was received in Albania by Albanian President Sali Berisha and other high-ranking Albanian officials.

Tudjman Departs for Paris To Meet Mitterrand

LD1401122793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, left this morning for Paris at the invitation of French President Francois Mitterrand.

Krajina Official Charged With Abuse of Post

LD1401220493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1640 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—While examining the increase of economic crime and acts of war profiteering in certain municipalities, the government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina relieved Vitomir Devetak, assistant minister for trade and tourism of Baranja, Eastern Slavonija and Western Srem, from his duties, ISKRA news agency reports.

Criminal proceedings will be initiated against Devetak due to his abuse of his post. As ISKRA reports, it has been proved that Devetak issued certificates for the export of strategic agricultural products and goods. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Reviews Domestic Situation in 1992

93BA0426I Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec 92 pp 2-3

[Report by Davor Ivankovic on 29 December news conference with President Franjo Tudjman; place not given: "1993 Will in Any Event Be Better!"]

[Text] *The year 1992 was full of affirmation of a sovereign, independent, and modern Croatia, in which the preconditions were created for completely establishing the political and constitutional order in all of our territory during the coming year.*

The president of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, spoke in an unusually relaxed atmosphere on Tuesday at what has already become the traditional New Year's meeting with the primary editors and journalists of the Croatian print and broadcast media. The subject, of course, was 1992, in many ways a fateful year for Croatia. Based on the conversation with the president of the republic, it can be concluded that the coming year, 1993, will in any event be better for Croatia, both politically and materially.

[Question] As president and historian, what is your assessment of 1992 in terms of Croatian history?

[Tudjman] I recall immediately how it was at the end of last year, when we were confronted with concentrated political and military exertions, both internally and

externally, the very purpose of which was to subvert political authority in Croatia, to force Croatia to its knees, and to return it to the framework of Yugoslavia, this time without Slovenia. Add to that the fact that at the time neither leading political figures in the world nor military analysts believed that Croatia would survive. After we did survive, together with our Croatian democracy, and the Croatian nation demonstrated its maturity at these most critical moments—that was when recognition came, even from those who had opposed a sovereign and independent Croatia. In 1992 we succeeded in ending the war on Croatian soil, because it is a fact that the war has actually been halted—I am thinking in terms of the dismemberment and conquest of Croatia. We succeeded in this with the help of the peacekeeping forces, but to this very day many people do not realize that if we had not done that, rest assured that the devastation of Croatia would have been much more extensive than what is happening today. In this way we succeeded in preserving three-fourths of the territory, thus strengthening Croatia. When we decided in August to hold parliamentary elections, many people were against it because they thought that the majority party would lose; they said that this was not the time for elections. But we went ahead with the elections, and that definitively established Croatia's place in the world and reinforced its internal stability.

Croatia—Factor of Peace

Even those who were against Croatian sovereignty and independence and such an order recognized Croatia not only formally, but also in a factual regard. World factors began to lend us political support even in these most delicate matters of state relations. We knew that we would now be enjoying the fruit of that policy. It was surprising to hear in the Croatian public about how Croatia's reputation was on the decline at the very moment when it was growing, which was seen very quickly when Croatia joined international financial and other institutions. 1992 was a year of full affirmation of a sovereign, independent, and modern Croatia, in which the preconditions were created for completely establishing the political and constitutional order in all of our territory during the coming year. It was a year in which Croatia proved to be a factor of peace in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, on which foreign factors rely in the geopolitical sense.

[Question] Do you assign much importance to the current Geneva negotiations?

[Tudjman] That is an effort to avert the outbreak of a conflict that could assume worldwide dimensions. Let us be sober to the end, let us remember how the spark of world war was lit in Sarajevo in 1914. And let us also bear in mind the significance today of the collapse of the socialist system and of multinational entities such as Yugoslavia, the USSR, and now the CSFR. On the soil of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], we have the elements of broader world entanglement. The problem of spheres of influence has existed from time immemorial to this very day. Next, there is the interest of a number of Islamic countries. Then the dogmatic, Orthodox forces in Russia, where more and more new generals are emerging who say that they are ready to help Serbia and Orthodoxy. Thus, a vicious circle is being woven in the territory of B-H surrounding Serbian demands, added to which are the interests of Islamic countries and of Russia, which admittedly remains a second-rate world power, but a country with a multitude of interethnic conflicts of its own and with nuclear forces. For many, such as Serbia, it is in their interest that the war drag on, so that domestic-policy goals can be achieved. If the war had continued, there would be no free and independent Croatia.

Danger of Further War

[Question] You have expressed satisfaction with the Geneva talks and with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali. What is the likelihood that new resolutions will fundamentally change events? The second question relates to Istria, to the destruction of a monument erected as a sign of Istria's belonging to the Croatian national corpus?

[Tudjman] I am exceptionally satisfied with the talks with Butrus-Ghali, because he is in favor of fully implementing the Vance plan, and his efforts are focused on the avoidance of further war. With his cooperation and with the cooperation of the cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, we will attempt to execute the Vance plan. It would be unrealistic to expect a special resolution concerning Croatia and B-H, leading to military intervention, because in that case such a decision would bring with it the danger of further war and the involvement of more and more new forces and states in the war. We will endeavor to reach a political solution, to resolve war and crisis through negotiations, despite the fact that we can expect obstacles on this course; it will not be easy work, but it can be done.

Concerning Istria, it is indicative that the Croatian stonebird be destroyed and in its place "This is Italy," "This is Serbia" be written or even the remnants of the Yugoslav flag be drawn. This shows that a situation has been created in Istria where some irredentists and terrorists would dare to do something like that. Now the Istrians must be shown as well, and I hope that the case will be solved by the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. All this is happening at a time when some are saying that Istria is integral, regardless of whether it is in Croatia, Slovenia, or Italy—and that it should even enter Europe as that integral whole. Regardless of whether the defenders of these ideas are aware of it or not, that is the road that would have to result in the separation of Istria from Croatia, a smoke screen for national questions in Europe. That is aimed against Croatian independence, and the Croatian nation will know how to approach such phenomena.

Five to 10 Percent Extremists

[Question] What is the most important factor of instability in Croatia, does it come from the outside, and are these social tensions or internal Croatian divisions?

[Tudjman] All of these things are elements of the Croatian reality and facts that must be taken into account, because they can create problems, but not instability in internal order, nor in Croatia's international position. Everything that we have achieved, we have achieved on the basis of the correct judgment and maturity of the Croatian nation. We have international recognition within our borders, decisions by the international community, the CSCE, the United Nations, that the border cannot be changed, and that was enacted not because of us, but rather because of all the parts of the world. Thus, I hope that we will resolve the problem of the so-called krajinas by peaceful means, but if not Croatia will be capable of doing so otherwise as well. Those who launched the military rebellion against Croatia have been defeated and isolated and are unable to relaunch a war against Croatia. The war crisis in B-H will also have to be reined in by halting the war. More than the occupation of these zones, now under the protection of UN forces, this means also the terror against the Serb population in the so-called krajinas. Based on our figures, between five and 10 percent of them are extremists and terrorists. They have persevered thus far because they have been trained and supplied by Belgrade, but less and less. With the discontinuation of Belgrade's aggressive policy, it is clear that there is less and less extremist policy in the UNPA [United Nations Protected Area] zones, and that we will begin to enjoy the fruits of our policy. Assembly decisions on abolition, amnesty, and pardons are already yielding results: In Gorski Kotar, 3,500 Serbs turned over weapons distributed by the Yugo-communist army, and several villages in the vicinity of Otocac and in eastern Slavonia have expressed their loyalty to Croatia. With this sort of policy, constitutional and legal order will be established with the agreement of the majority of the Serb population in Croatia. Unfortunately, some of our people, through their deeds and words, are acting counter to the goals that we would like to achieve, but in some cases there are also diversions in these actions. That is why we are strictly, legally opposed to that on our soil, if we assume that Croatia is a rule-of-law state, that the laws cannot be violated by the Croatian authorities and state, but rather because of irresponsible actions by members of paramilitary and extremist organizations, which we thus cannot allow. We know that the international community knows every detail about every process and action taking place on Croatian soil.

Social Instability

Social instability could be on the way. This is certainly a consequence of the collapse of socialism and of the Yugoslav market, and of the war, the consequences of which are serious. But the fact that we have managed to surmount all this without major privation and hunger makes this into a Croatian miracle. Not only has there been no hunger, but there have not even been any serious shortages of goods. We have made it through without social unrest, even though some of our "blind men" from outside and from inside have wanted to provoke this sort of unrest in order to subvert the Croatian authorities. This says something about the maturity and interest of the Croatian nation in preserving its country even at the expense of major sacrifices. I believe that under more favorable circumstances, which will certainly follow in 1993, we will solve these problems as well.

When you ask me about internal instability, then I must ask you what the factors are? Following the elections we have such a stable order that I do not see anything that can threaten it. I believe that we will consolidate that order even more and finally solve the remaining problems from the socialist system, so that we can turn to solving problems in Croatia, establishing complete territorial integrity and rejuvenating the Croatian economy, and our people will know how to develop their country, its and their own material interest.

[Question] Official Croatian policy toward B-H has often been equated with the policy of the Serbian occupying forces; even now, some people are doing this and issuing protests. In addition, an increasing number of Russian volunteers are arriving in B-H, soldiers who also fought in eastern Croatia?

[Tudjman] There are Russian volunteers, and not only Russians, but also Romanians, on the Serbian side, and that is a real danger, not only because they are coming here, but also because of the danger of a return to the old Russian Orthodox policy. The same danger is present in the form of the influence of Islamic countries. However, there is also the willingness of democratic forces in Russia, led by President Yeltsin and Minister of Foreign Affairs Kozyrev to have Russia oppose the provocation of a third world war.

Reality Has Responded

As far as the "wise men" are concerned who are criticizing Croatian policy and Croatian policy in B-H, reality has responded to these quasi-historical theories—after the first and second elections, and now as well. I have noted that the people who should offer some sort of alternative to current Croatian policy have come together. I have clearly assigned the most importance to the Croatian emigre community, which makes up nearly one half of the Croatian national being, but I also emphasized that the fate of the Croatian question should be resolved in the homeland. Without the emigre community, this victory of democracy would not have been possible, nor the victory in the elections or in war—but they did not include those who today would give Croatian policy an "alternative" orientation. Input into what Croatia will be will be provided by those who have proven that they had the correct judgments to which the mature Croatian people gave confidence.

Croatian policy is principled in relation to B-H as well, and is executed in the interest of the Croatian nation in B-H, which is the creation of preconditions for the establishment of peace in the former Yugoslavia. This policy has proven to be so correct that even those who were not friends of Croatia, but rather wanted to rule it, had to acknowledge the justness of Croatian policy. The best proof of this is the averted attempts to impose sanctions on Croatia, also proved by Islamic countries which have clearly noted that Croatia is the only country in Europe that has openly been on the side of the Muslims (refugees!). A conference in Istanbul and Jidda revealed this recognition of Croatia and ordered that aid be sent to Croatia, and even the United Nations finally adopted a resolution on helping Croatia. That is the foreign reflection of the justness of the Croatian policy toward B-H. From the very beginning we have emphasized that B-H is of vital interest to Croatia, not only because of historic reasons, but also for geopolitical reasons, because of the threat to all of southern Croatia, from Split to the extreme south. In so doing, we have not succumbed to the stupidity, as some have advised us, of pursuing Croatian policy in keeping with Muslim and Albanian policy. If we had done that, where would we be today? Our policy has made it possible for B-H today not to be in a Greater Serbia or in a third Yugoslavia. During the discussions on a confederal structure for Yugoslavia, B-H wanted greater ties with Yugoslavia, thinking of the Muslims of Sandzak and Kosovo, that they should all be in the same state. Perhaps from the Muslim viewpoint that was right, but from ours it was not. Many European diplomats were telling me at the time that no preparations were being made in Sarajevo for war with the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. Our policy helped prepare Croats in B-H to defend themselves. And thus helped keep B-H from becoming a constituent part of Greater Serbia. This succeeded with relatively few sacrifices, but the Muslim population has suffered atrocities because it was not ready to defend itself.

Don't Do That!

We have recognized B-H, but it can be preserved only as a confederal community of three equal nations. If it was not possible to preserve Yugoslavia, then how could it be possible to preserve B-H as some sort of civil state, especially after this war? I have been approached by Croats from B-H asking whether we would accept the annexation of Croat regions in B-H to Croatia. We tell them, "Don't do that, go to the referendum in order to preserve a sovereign B-H, a community of three nations." There are still serious differences of opinion about the territorial demarcation of the provinces in B-H, and about what would satisfy Croats. Croatia is not in favor of solving the problem of preserving B-H by war. The prevailing idea in the Muslim leadership is that the problem of Serbian aggression must be solved by war, by using Serbia's isolation and its losses from the war in Croatia. However, it is clear that the Croats and Muslims cannot resolve the war in B-H to their own advantage, due to the JNA, which is still many times stronger, and a continuation of the war by necessity provokes European and worldwide complications. That is why we have offered political solutions in accordance with relations in B-H. If anyone condemns Croatian policy as suicidal or traitorous, then that is extreme political blindness and dilettantism.

[Question] Have international factors definitively abandoned the idea of creating some sort of new Yugoslavia? In that regard, how do you interpret Panic's statement that Croatia cannot survive alone?

[Tudjman] Some people wanted to save Yugoslavia at any cost, and there are desires to unify the countries of the former Yugoslavia in some way. I am not making allowances for Mr. Panic here, because he was prompted by others to say that. There are also those who want to retain influence in this part of Europe in relation to other interests. The same geopolitical factors are playing a more important role than political factors and discussion. Russia and Europe want to achieve the same influence and are creating it. Perhaps some of the states even want to extend the war in B-H because of their interests. Croatia has an answer to that—it is ready to cooperate as an independent state with states of the former Yugoslavia, on the basis of mutual recognition. That is accepted by the most responsible factors.

Not Reconciled with Crime

[Question] Still, significance must be assigned to manifestations of anti-Croatian activity, crime, corruption, bribery, campaigns against certain people, campaigns against Hercegovians, Zagrebians, sabotage?

[Tudjman] Adequate attention is being devoted to all those questions, but we still have not done enough in prevention. There will be that sort of thing for 50 years, just as it exists in all states, even the most democratic ones. We will do everything we can to minimize it in Croatia. But under these conditions manifestations of usury and anarchy were unavoidable. There was even less of it than the general chaos would have allowed for. Democracy is not anarchy; it provides more rights, but also responsibilities. These phenomena got into full swing under wartime conditions, but we will not reconcile ourselves with them.

For the first time, we have united all Croats and all Croatian classes; we have descendants of workers, farmers, intellectuals, and the nobility in politics. But the tendencies to try to destroy have not disappeared. For example, the question "Are you in favor of Dalmatian secession?" appeared in a newspaper. That is not democracy, it is irresponsibility.

When they say that there are Hercegovians everywhere, that is true, but there are also all the others. It is not their fault that they were scattered everywhere because of their Croathood or poverty and were the first to defend Croatian democracy. I do not see any danger here, because they do not dominate any part of state policy. Without that participation of Hercegovians, we would

not have gotten democracy and the war in Croatia. We want the full participation of all people from Zagorje and Dalmatia, and we will not permit the domination of or discrimination against anyone. Some manifestations of this are utterly minor in significance, and we can calmly continue implementing the unification of all Croatian territories and continue the Croatian revival. We have created Croatian unity, and we will preserve it. Some people would like some other Croatia and some other Croatian nation. We will finish building Croatia with that very Croatian nation, and include all creative forces in doing so. As long as we are at the helm, we will not lose our bearings in steering the Croatian ship. There is no reason to doubt the Croatian man in emigration—because he has learned what it means to be one's own person before the world.

Croatian-Serbian Relations

[Question] Still, couldn't Croatia be helped to put the war on a new course, if the United States was committed?

[Tudjman] If the mechanical war could be shifted and if we could build ourselves a Great Wall of China, then yes. But you cannot isolate yourself from war. I still do not know what Cosic said after Geneva. But I will tell you that he has the idea that things between Croatia and Serbia must be normalized as soon as possible. that is the only realistic policy for us. Germany and France waged war against one another four times in 100 years, and today they are the backbone for creating the European Community, a new, nonhegemonistic order. We must create the conditions for normalizing Croatian-Serbian relations. Do we want to have new cases of extermination after a few decades? Serbian policy must recognize that it has nothing to seek in Benkovac and Obrovac, just as Croatia has nothing across the Drina. It must recognize that it cannot exterminate an entire nation in B-H. Thus, we do not aspire to war; in pursuing a policy of peace, we prepared ourselves for war, for defense, and we will always be ready for that. We are pragmatists, but our basic orientation is toward peace. I have been criticized for saying that the war is over. But what was I supposed to say—that it is not over—so that people would not even come to Istria?

[Question] Tell us something about the effectiveness of the Croatian Government.

[Tudjman] Under conditions of the disintegrating socialist system and war, it was actually unable to do any more. At a meeting with trade union representatives I told them, "Dear friends, both you and I have no other duty but to use our common strengths to promote a more prosperous Croatia, more wealth, freedom, and democracy." The Croatian Government had to solve the first problem of war—do you know what 700,000 refugees mean? In the United States their hair stood on end when they learned that proportionally speaking that would mean for them a burden of 40 million people! What we have achieved is truly a miracle, and that is why everyone recognized us in the end. Clearly, once the problems of war are resolved we will head for better times. Croatia will be whatever the Croatian people are. The market orientation is a difficult course, strewn with brambles. It was easy to nationalize, socialize, but now this must be transformed into a private, pluralistic society. That opens up prospects, but also allows abuses, mobsterism, and plunder. But that is the job of the police.

Without rich Croats Croatia is not rich either. We will succeed precisely because we have a country full of natural beauty and because Croatia's geopolitical position is such that many international factors are scrambling to invest in Croatia. We must be judicious in taking advantage of that.

Assembly Holds Debate on Economic Program

93BA0429B Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec 92 p 7

[Article by Drazen Jambrovic and Goranka Juresko: "Continuation of Sixth Special Session of Assembly: Cutting Inflation Key Question"]

[Text] *The prime minister's program reminds deputy Mladen Vilfan (HSLS [Croatian Social-Liberal Alliance]) of a seminar paper. Dr. Savka Dabcevic-Kucar (HNS [Croatian People's Party]) believes that the war should not be an alibi for the poor state of the economy. Nikica Valentic (HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community]) says that exports are on the rise. And Pankretic says: "If I were to change the owner of my estate every hour, it would not be an estate."*

Zagreb—Following the report by Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic, 30 deputies spoke up during debate. The first to state his opinion on the government's economic program for the coming year was Anto Lovric (HSS [Croatian Peasants Party]), who criticized the program's meagerness and inadequate scope. In his opinion, the government over the last period has expended too much effort on shoring up socialist enterprises, which has seriously damaged the Croatian economy; he asked who has made it possible for some people to use tricks inherited from the former system, and demanded that laws and penalties be strictly applied to such activities. "I would not favor Hitler, but it seems to me that we need at least six months in order to introduce more order," Lovric said.

Deputy Mladen Vilfan (HSLS) feels that there are too few data in the prime minister's program, and that it actually reminds him more of a seminar paper than of a program. He expressed his support for selective investment, for a policy of small steps that will yield good results in the end, but he feels that because of the weakness of the rule-of-law state potential foreign and domestic investors remain discouraged. As an example of the inefficiency of state administration, he cited his own case, saying that for three months he has been assembling the paperwork necessary to set up a transport company. Vilfan also expressed his support for no longer

reorganizing losing ventures with money from companies operating in the black. He also feels that the cost of the new administrative organization of Croatia should be stated.

In the assessment of Dr. Savka Dabcevic-Kucar (HNS), the economy is one of Croatia's most important fronts. The best indications of the state of the economy are the lines for black bread, the decline in wages, and the trend of more money buying less. Price increases are growing ever-larger, Croatian society is becoming stratified, the middle class—which is the backbone of every European state—is disappearing, and the Croatian economy is starting to resemble a bankrupt public enterprise, says Dr. Dabcevic-Kucar. She also feels that the war should not be an alibi for the poor state of the economy; on the contrary, it should intensify responsibility and good moves. She criticized the fact that the prime minister has not put forward an alternative, war scenario for the economy, as well as the unrealistic estimate that the monthly rise in retail prices will drop to only 5 percent.

Dr. Franjo Greguric (HDZ) noted that one cannot ignore the encirclement in which Croatia finds itself, and that it is necessary to know when the war on Croatia's border will be over and when peace will come to the Balkans. Economic and stabilization policy will have to be amended every three months. Referring to "Borovo," "Vuteks," "Vupik," "Belje," "Gavrilovic," and other production capacities that have been lost for now, as well as to the cutoff position of Dalmatia, Dr. Greguric emphasized that we must proceed on the basis of what we have right now. He contends that a 15 percent increase in the social product is an ambitious goal and suggests that all spending be subjected to tight controls, and that a balance be maintained between revenues and expenditures.

Dr. Goran Granic (HSLS) feels that the market and market-based activities should be at the top of the list in the program, not in third place. The effort to clear up all vagueness must be extended to all public spending, including lower-level expenditures. This should also cover funds and be applied as soon as possible to the new system of retirement insurance, for example.

Milan Stojanovic (SDP [Party of Democratic Changes]) dwelt on the question of prices. If the markets do not support the price of my product (Stojanovic adopted the stance of a businessman here), then I will lower them myself; I do not need the government. The government's influence on prices is another question, if it is to force a lowering of entry prices.

Nikica Valentic (HDZ) believes this: When the government predicts that inflation will drop to a monthly rate of 5 percent by the end of the year, that is not impossible; that means a 2 percent reduction in monthly inflation, and that is possible. Because we are not talking here about a reduction in inflation to 5 percent over the course of one month, but rather over a year. Cutting inflation is the key question. The effects will be seen if the government holds to the "brakes" with which it has provided itself—fiscal policy, monetary policy, and wage policy. Valentic considers it indicative that exports are increasing from month to month, and that they will achieve a level of $5 billion by the end of the year.

Josip Pankretic (HSS) is not convinced that the proposed program will work. In this Assembly, he said, I have already voted for three or four programs, and after all of that things have only grown worse. I cannot reconcile myself with the idea that things could not have been better, that it was not possible to curtail social problems. Since I have been here, there have been four prime ministers, and I do not even know how many ministers. "If I were to change the owner of my estate every hour, it would not be an estate. And there is no one to blame, because they are constantly changing the members of the government. Only I have remained over these two and a half years, so that it looks as if I am to blame." Pankretic warned that retired farmers are receiving a pension of 2,000 Croatian dinars, so that they cannot even pay for their TV subscription and are coming to him to watch television. He also voiced a warning about profiteers (regardless of whether they are wartime profiteers or black marketeers) who are loading up with money over night, and about the fact that besides the 30 percent of the country that is under occupation, 80 percent has remained unplanted. Not only is 20 percent of the wheat crop unplanted, but the quality will also be 40 percent lower. And all of this is because loans to prepare for planting were too expensive.

Antun Vrdoljak (HDZ) replied to Pankretic, saying that "a TV subscription for one year can be bought for the price of one kilogram of bacon," while Pankretic retorted that he was not talking about farmers who produce bacon, but rather farmers who are retired and who receive such a small pension.

Dr. Andrija Hebrang (HDZ) said that health care today is a "squeezed sponge." One solution is to deny the use of health care services to those not paying premiums but receiving wages, and another solution is to reduce spending.

Deputy Goranko Fizulic (HSLS) criticized the government's passive approach to the crime of financial consulting and transformation, which have set out on the wrong road. We ask that the government tell us what measures will be applied to lowering inflation, how taxes will be cut when a growth in revenues from that source is predicted even in the estimate for the first three months of 1993. Fizulic proposed that a foreign-currency exchange be formed, that the National Bank of Croatia set the discount rate, which will be five percent higher than the rise in retail prices, that it maintain actual control over prime issue, that prices be established based on the market, that controls be established over the prices of those goods where the manufacturer has a monopoly, that the payment of gross personal income be introduced, that the redemption of length of service

through bonds from the Republic of Croatia be facilitated, that banks be made responsible for foreign-exchange deposits, that the Law on Denationalization be implemented, and that public enterprises be deprived of everything that does not belong to them. An economic program should not serve to promote political positions, Ivica Gazi (HDZ) feels, because, as he said, an economic program is not the program of one party and of the government; rather, everyone should be rallied behind it. Hyperinflation is our reality, said Gazi.

Inflation Rate for 1992 Lower Than 1991

93BA0445B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 29 Dec 92 p 1

[Article by Ilja Popit: "December's Percent Is Also Carrying Inflation Into the New Year"]

[Text] *Between last December and this December, we in Slovenia "produced" 92.9 percent in price increases.*

Ljubljana, 28 Dec—Although at the beginning of the month several candidates appeared who would have liked to raise the prices for something, it seems that at least those with the kind of goods and services for which price statistics are observed did not catch their breath much at all. In fact, the December rate of inflation in Slovenia is not only the lowest monthly rate this year, but also the lowest since "Markovic's" lull in prices in August 1990.

In monitoring prices, statistics starts the year a full week before it actually starts according to the calendar, and likewise ends it a week earlier. The Statistics Institute thus noted that in December 1992 retail prices in Slovenia increased by only 1.1 percent in comparison with November 1992. The curbing of the growth of prices in favor of this December and thus also in favor of a lower overall rise in prices during 1992 will—in contrast to the statement that it is happening so that the new government will not have any difficulties—actually "hurt" it and this year's prices.

According to the Slovene Statistics Institute's data, this year, specifically between this December and last December, we "produced" a 92.9 percent rise in prices, which is the lowest rise in the last seven years, i.e., since 1986. The annual increase in retail sales prices—measured from December to December of each year—shows the following distribution during the past decade:

Year	Growth of Prices in Percent
1982	29.5
1983	60.1
1984	54.9
1985	79.9
1986	98.4
1987	202.2
1988	249.2
1989	2,772.3
1990	104.6
1991	247.1
1992	92.2

Last year's production of prices is consequently relatively modest for recent years, although it is still far from removing us sufficiently from the danger of going back to having prices out of control again. Price appetites are still large, as indicated by those price increases over which there are fewer guardians, since it would be hard to find anyone among them who raises his prices every month by just a full percent, which is officially the average inflation in December. We are asserting this, of course, on the basis of the data up to November, since the Institute has not yet published more detailed December price shifts.

To be sure, even a progression at the rate of 1.1 percent per month will yield a 14 percent price increase in one year, whereas this year the Italians, who are not even the best in this endeavor, "produced" a considerably lower increase this year, namely 5.4 percent, and the Austrians were even a full percent lower. In December, in some of the eight Italian cities that are used for that calculation, prices did not even increase, and so they only had a 0.1 percent average rate of inflation. Consequently, our growth in December is certainly improbably low for domestic conditions, but nevertheless 10 times higher than Italy's in December. Of course, we can console ourselves with the fact that we are also marvelous with respect to prices if we compare ourselves with the monthly price increases in Croatia or even in Serbia, since they are struggling there with hyperinflation.

With respect to our prices this year, apparently the worst comparison is between the annual average and last year's annual average, since part of the percentage earned last year also lies in the increase. That comparison shows that on the average, retail prices in Slovenia increased by 201.3 percent in 1992 in comparison with the average in 1991.

Federal

Cosic Receives Bosnian Serb Delegation

LD1401122493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1144 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, today received a delegation of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Hercegovina] comprising of Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic; Dr. Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serb Republic; Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Serb Republic's Assembly; Lieutenant Colonel Ratko Mladic, commander of the Army of the Serb Republic; and Colonel Zdravko Tolimir, an assistant commander.

It has been reported that in the course of the meeting talks were conducted about the further course of the Geneva negotiations.

Krajisnik Comments on Meeting

LD1401200693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1807 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—Today's talks between a delegation of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] and Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], assessed that the Geneva decision to endorse constitutional principles on the future organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina was good, wise, and realistic, Momcilo Krajisnik, the speaker of the Serb Republic Assembly told TANJUG. He explained that representatives of the Serb Republic and the FRY agreed in Geneva to jointly reconsider and analyze the results of the Geneva negotiations in Belgrade.

"The talks were meaningful and it was jointly concluded that the decision to approve the constitutional principles, subject to the final approval of the Assembly of the Serb Republic, was the right one," Krajisnik said. According to him, the delegation of the Serb Republic voiced interest in placing the issue of the fate of the Serbian people, as an issue of the general interest for all Serbs, on the agenda of the Yugoslav, Serbian and Montenegrin assemblies.

On the other hand, FRY President Dobrica Cosic voiced the desire to attend a session of the Serb Republic Assembly, which is due to verify the Geneva decision.

The FRY President, that is, representatives of Serbia and Montenegro, are very interested in taking part in the session of our assembly, Krajisnik said. This possibility is not excluded, because it will be necessary to explain in detail why we made that decision in Geneva. "We will present all the arguments to our parliament, including those explanations that were given to us in negotiations that are not included in the document, but are included in the minutes of the negotiations," Krajisnik stated.

Asked what results he expected from the parliament session, Krajisnik said: "I expect a decision which will be in the interest of the protection of rights and the will of the Serbian people, but I hope that the parliament will accept our decision if it concludes that this represents a framework for the realization of our goals."

Asked to comment on yesterday's latest statement from the EC session, in which the Twelve again addressed the Serbs as if nothing had happened in Geneva, the Serb Republic Assembly speaker stressed that the latest EC ultimatum is "extremely undiplomatic and malicious. In the final analysis this confirms that the goal of the EC is not to reach a negotiated solution in Geneva, because this ultimatum is directed against the Serbs, not only in the Serb Republic, but also against the entire Serbian people," Krajisnik said.

The new EC ultimatum is completely unnecessary, because it is obvious that we invested extreme efforts to achieve peace. The readiness of the Serbs to cooperate, including the representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro, was at a very high level, Krajisnik said.

According to Krajisnik, the parliament of the Serb Republic will not adopt anything that in their opinion is to the detriment of the Serbian people and, as he said, "no ultimatums and blackmailing will have decisive influence on the decision."

It is planned that the parliament of the Serb Republic will meet between 17 and 19 January, either in Pale, Banja Luka, or Bijeljina. A final decision will be made in Pale, where the Serb delegation returns tomorrow.

Stojanovic Believes Peace Plan To Be Approved

LD1401212893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2003 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 14 (TANJUG)—Special adviser to the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Svetozar Stojanovic has said he believes that the parliament of the Serb Republic will approve the basic principles of the future constitutional arrangement of Bosnia-Hercegovina accepted by Radovan Karadzic in Geneva.

Stojanovic, who was a member of the Yugoslav delegation to the Geneva negotiations, said at the guest of TANJUG panel discussion on Thursday that the nine constitutional principles embody two guarantees—constituent character and consensus.

I believe that the parliament of the Serb Republic will approve these principles because the most influential representatives of Bosnian Serbs—the president, representatives of the parliament and the top military—have invested their moral and political authority in it, said Stojanovic.

He noted that the problem could be in the international community and its reaction after Geneva.

Stojanovic also commented on a statement made by the President of the EC Ministerial Council, Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, who said after the talks in Geneva that everything should be done for Serbia's total isolation from the world community.

The Danish minister, who had been in Belgrade before the Geneva conference, was told "what he had to be told when coming to Belgrade with the language of an ultimatum," said Stojanovic.

In Geneva, Serbs did everything they were requested to do, and I wonder whether the intention of the president of the EC Ministerial Council was to prevent the Geneva talks, said Stojanovic, adding: "Let the others answer that."

If the Danish foreign minister repeats such threats, he will no longer be able to talk with us even as a matter of form, and the European Community will have to find another representative if it wants the talks to continue, concluded presidential adviser Stojanovic.

Cosic Sends Letter to Butrus-Ghali on Overflights

LD1401180493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1558 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], has sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali saying that Yugoslav Army aircraft have not breached the air exclusion zone over the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina since it was introduced, or since UN observers were deployed at FRY airports.

"All doubts regarding this have been dispelled with the force of argument. I reassure you that we will continue to strictly observe the ban and that we will try to clarify all possible suspicious situations in close cooperation with the relevant bodies," Cosic states.

The Yugoslav president recalls that, in a letter dated 26 December 1992, the chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army drew the attention of the commander of the UN peacekeepers to mass violations of the no-fly zone over the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina by Croats, and to numerous cases when Cazin airfield was used to deliver arms and equipment to the Muslim forces.

Cosic notes with regret that it can be seen from Ghali's reports to the Security Council that the misuse of the airfield in Cazin has intensified. Out of 25 banned flights registered from 23 December to 3 January, 17 involved this airport, seven flights involved Pleso airport, five involved Pula airport, while it is not known where five flights started or ended. [all figures as received]

"With a view to the importance the United Nations and yourself ascribe to the observance of the no-fly zone, as well as with the view to a danger that noncompliance could be used as a pretext for the use of force, with unforeseen consequences, I reassure you that relevant FRY bodies and myself are paying all our attention to this problem," the Yugoslav president writes in his letter to Ghali.

Cosic also stressed that so far, the Yugoslav side only refers to the facts quoted in the reports which the UN secretary general submitted to the UN Security Council, and which were compiled by observers in the field. At the same time, the Croatian side is violating the resolution on the no-fly zone in order to provoke the use of force against the Serbian people.

The Muslim side, Cosic went on, has been consistent in its overall behavior since the beginning of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, for which it bears the brunt of responsibility, making false accusations—via its UN representative—about the violation of the no-fly zone resolution at the expense of the Serb Krajina and the FRY.

Cosic quoted the letter of the permanent Muslim representative in the UN of 29 December last year in which, apart from other lies, the latter claimed that from 23-27 December, Serb and Montenegrin forces carried out 24 combat flights in the Srebrenica region alone, even though the competent organs did not detect a single aircraft flying over this region.

At the end of his letter to the UN secretary general, President Cosic expresses the conviction that Butrus-Ghali shared his opinion that the most important thing at this critical moment is to do everything possible in order to apprise the UN Security Council, the international public, and all interested international factors about the true dimension of the problem in question and the degree of responsibility of each side.

"In this respect, it is vital to prevent the spread of false reports and unsubstantiated accusations. I therefore beg you to submit this letter to the UN Security Council as an official document," Cosic concludes.

The text of Cosic's letter was also submitted to the cochairmen of the Geneva conference, the president of the EC Council of Ministers and the commander of UN peacekeeping forces in former Yugoslavia.

Army Chief Says Army Guarantor of Peace in Raska

LD1401202293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1739 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 14 (TANJUG)—"The Army of Yugoslavia is the guarantee of peace and the key factor of security in Raska [Sandzak]." Chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, Colonel General Zivota Panic, said on Thursday [14 January] during a visit to the command and units of the Army's Uzice Corps, which covers Raska (Sandzak).

Raska, an area in southwestern Serbia on its border with Montenegro almost half of the population of which are Moslems, is regarded as a potential flashpoint in Serbia.

Claiming that Raska's Moslems are threatened, the local Moslem leaders are demanding autonomy for the region and a withdrawal of Yugoslav Army units from it.

General Panic, who also today observed exercises by a number of units of the Uzice Corps, was informed in detail about measures the corps was implementing to secure peace in Raska and to protect the borders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Government Advisers on Uncertainty of Economy

LD1401164093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1223 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Report by Milica Knezevic]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan. 14 (TANJUG)—Due to the lack of basic parameters needed for planning, the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) has not made public its global economic plan for 1993 by mid-January.

The National Bank of Yugoslavia's Council of Governers has for the same reason failed at its Tuesday [12 January] session to adopt the national monetary policy for this year. In the former Yugoslavia, late December had been the deadline for making public the next year's economic program. All economic estimates for 1993 are contingent on the length of the international blockade of the FRY, Federal Government experts say.

The U.N. Security Council imposed rigorous economic and political sanctions on the FRY late May, because of its alleged involvement in the Bosnian war.

The sanctions were the main reason for a 20 percent drop in the FRY's "social product" (approximately GNP [gross national product]) in comparison to 1991, experts say. The GNP was 35 percent down from 1889, the last year of the former Yugoslav Federation as a political and economic entity. A drop in industrial eduction was most responsible for the drastic plunge of the GNP. Compared with 1992, industrial output fell 24 percent. Only 30-40 percent of the country's total industrial capacity is employed.

Owing to a long drought last summer, agricultural production dropped 26 percent. The FRY's inflation, running at 19,800 percent annually, last year was the world's highest.

The FRY Government drafted two macroeconomic plan variants for 1993. One variant presumes the economic sanctions will be lifted in the first quarter of the year, while the other predicts they will last until 1994.

The first variant expects that industrial production cannot be revived until June. If the production growth reaches 60 percent in the second half of 1993, the annual production growth will still be 10 percent down from that of 1992.

If the sanctions are not lifted this year, industrial production will fall over 35 percent and the country's GNP around 30 percent. In that case, inflation will totally run out of control, Federal Government experts said.

The situation would become very critical, even in the field which was the FRY's chief trump card—food production. Not even half the 1992 wheat yield has been purchased as yet and the cities might easily be left without flour and bread.

SPS Members of Yugoslav, Serb Assemblies Listed

LD1401211493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1627 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—The Main Committee of the Serbian Socialist Party [SPS] today published a list of its deputies in the Chamber of Citizens of the Yugoslav Assembly and in the Serbian Assembly, which was unanimously adopted at today's session of the party's main committee.

According to the list, 47 deputies will represent the SPS in the Federal Assembly:

Vladislav Jovanovic, Goran Percevic, Branislav Crncevic, Milovan Vitezovic, Zivadin Mihajlovic, Zika Mustikla, Milan Obradovic, Borisav Jovic, Djordje Djukic, Srdjan Petrovic, Ivko Djonovic, Dragutin Velickovic, Ivica Dacic, Dragan Tomic, Milan Stamenkovic, Djura Lazic, Vlajko Petkovic, Miomir Stojanovic, Sreten Ristic, Mile Ilic, Danilo Z. Markovic, Slobodanka Ciric, Filip Vukovic, Jovan Stamenic, Tomislav Sekulic, Zivorad Igic, Vojislav Popovic, Zejnel Zejneli, Vukasin Jokanovic, Nedzmedin Kalicanaj, Ratko Markovic, Veljko Albunovic, Vladimir Todorovic, Miladin Aleksic, Branislav Milanovic-Raf, Radoman Bozovic, Dane Marjanac, Ana Prcic, Jovan Radic, Bosko Perosevic, Nedeljko Sipovac, Jugoslav Kostic, Miodrag Maslac, Milomir Minic, Radenko Stepic, Petar Lucic, Dragan Markovic and Radojko Petric.

The following are the 101 SPS deputies in the Serbian People's Assembly:

Nebojsa Covic, Zoran Lilic, Aleksandar Bercek, Slobodan Maric, Aleksandar Pavlovic, Velimir-Bata Zivojinovic, Branka Jesic, Zlatan Perucic, Radivoje Jovanovic, Miladin Tosic, Dusan Bokalovic-Zoja, Tomislav Markovic, Tiosav Jovanovic, Sinisa Knezevic, Stanoje-Sasa Andjelkovic, Slobodan Babic, Milos Urosevic, Momcilo Djurovic, Zivorad Nesic-Dzada, Miloje Mihajlovic, Radovan Radovic, Milosav Ivovic, Slobodan Dugalic, Gorica Gajevic, Ljubomir Jovanovic, Slobodan Jovanovic, Miroljub Mladenovic, Aleksandar Nikolic-Aca Musa, Dobrosav Radovic, Dragan Tomic, Moma Denic, Randjel Veljkovic, Vojislav Zivkovic, Miroslav Zdravkovic, Ratomir Icic, Miodrag-Mile Gojkovic, Ljubisa Maravic, Branislav Ristic, Zoran Ljubisavljevic, Zivan Susulic, Zoran Sokolovic, Zoran Arandjelovic, Milan Janic, Tomica Klikovac, Radmilo

Kalcevic, Momcilo Cvetkovic, Slavisa Krstic, Dragomir Radovanovic, Dobromir Popovic, Sinisa Stamenkovic, Nikola Stojanov, Milorad Samardzic, Dragomir Pavlovic, Zoran Grujic, Miladin Ivanovic, Zoran Gligorijevic, Ljiljana Stojkovic, Basri Plana, Redzep Hodza, Bogoljub Janicevic, Savo Stanojevic, Dragan Malovic, Sonja Scepanovic, Milorad Stojanovic, Radmilo Bogdanovic, Zoran Andjelkovic, Zivoslav Adamovic, Darko Nikolic, Slobodanka Todorovic, Dobrivoje Budimirovic-Bidza, Ljubisa Misic, Djordje Kocanovic, Dusan Ivkovic, Slobodan Jankovic, Ljubomir Ilikic, Sinisa Batalo, Ljubo Slijepcevic, Rajko Matovic, Margit Savovic, Milovan Vukoje, Zoran Nikolic, Vladimir Brankov, Radovan Pankov, Vladimir Divjakovic, Zoran Cetkovic, Mihalj Kertes, Slobodan Elezovic, Milorad Vlahovic, Milenko Vlaisavljevic, Radoslav Papovic, Jovan Belic, Aleksa Jokic, Milan Mirosavljevic, Milorad Dostanic, Milomir Zoric, Milivoje Miletic, Slobodan-Bata Djokovic, Radomir Tesic, Zdravko Jerotic, Milorad-Mika Stepanovic and Zivko Gajic.

Commentary Assesses Election Results

93BA0426G Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Dec 92 p 5

[Commentary by Radivoje Petrovic: "What the Elections Brought"]

[Text] Excessive expectations are often the cause of major disappointment, while modest optimism always provides an opportunity for at least a small amount of satisfaction. This psychological framework could in a certain sense apply to the results of and reactions to the epilogue of early elections in Serbia and the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. Although we will have to wait a little longer for the final verification of the vote totals, there is no doubt that one phase of political life has come to an end, with all the positive and negative shifts of the national balloting.

Without going into the credibility issue and the percentage of what could be called vote-rigging (about which the Supreme Court will have the final word), there is no doubt that despite all the objections, the significance of the results is not challenged either on the domestic or on the foreign scene. The convincing nature of the difference in votes won calls for a different type of interpretation and analysis.

Based on what is known thus far, the 1992 elections brought an end to one-party rule, confirmed the domestic sequence of political values in the largest part of the population, and placed the citizens' elected representatives in a position of deliberating and working practically in a new and different manner than the previous one, while always bearing in mind the delicacy of the times in which we live: either we will reach an agreement on our common goal all together, or in the absence of this minimum consensus about what we call the state interest we will enter into an uncertain period of unstable government.

It is precisely for this reason that it is necessary to accept the results of the elections, and to do so without despair or triumphalism. Even before the polling places opened, it was clear that there would be no winners or losers in this race, but the first reactions to the results of the voting indicate that the domestic political public has forgotten this in some places.

There have been changes in the balance of power on the political scene. The previous ruling socialists lost a considerable number of votes in relation to the last elections and will have fewer seats in parliament than the various opposition parties. The Serbian radicals achieved a convincing result, becoming numerically the number-two political force in the republican parliament and reaffirming their position in the federal parliament, while the classic opposition, holding publicly to their conviction that this was because of "dirty tricks," received less than it expected, although more than it had previously. They are all left to seek, with a cool head, an answer to the question: Where did they go wrong, and where did they hit the mark in attracting voters?

One interesting detail in this crunching of figures is a survey assessment before the elections indicating that the majority of undecided citizens are intimate with the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia]. Another survey assessment says that the Serbian radicals gathered the largest number of votes that the socialists had last time, which is unusually important for the composition of the government and for the future creators of authority.

The most interesting question, among the multitude being posed of late, is certainly this: Who will govern, and who will be the opposition? There are four possible combinations both on the federal and on the republican level: a coalition government, in which an agreed majority will receive seats; a concentrated government, in which all parliamentary parties will participate; a minority government in which, say, the socialists, as a party without an absolute majority but the one that has the largest number of deputy seats, would form a cabinet; and finally, an expert government, in which the pleasure of governing would be left up to experts.

In the public's first reactions to the composition of parliament, an interpretation emerged according to which the socialists and radicals, who together captured a two-thirds majority in both assemblies, could easily enter into a coalition and thus continue the domination noted in the preceding period. The more time passes, the more quiet such pronouncements are, while voices are being heard from circles close to the socialists indicating concern about the radicals' breakthrough and noticeable reservations about this type of political marriage. Those who view, and not without good reason, this score by Seselj's party as a noticeable shift to the right feel that a coalition between the socialists and Seselj would be political suicide for a party that declares itself to be leftist, all the more so since little in common can be found in their programs, aside from elements of patriotism.

The question of who is right and what the winning combination is will be resolved very quickly. But regardless of that, once we have recovered from the election hangover it will be obvious that no single party holds power any longer, that multiparty rule has become inevitable, and that much of this process depends on skill exhibited in negotiating and agreeing to compromises. In this, a prominent role will be played by FRY President Dobrica Cosic. Regardless of the current assessments of his preelection statements and evaluations of the fact that he was unwilling to participate in the election race, Cosic's role as political mediator in bringing together irreconcilable elements could tip the domestic political scales in the direction of stability and change through a balanced, wise, and impartial approach on his part.

Nor do local analysts rule out the possibility that the newly elected authorities, largely with old, recognizable political identities, will make adjustments in current policy, effecting a turnaround, and thus demonstrating good intentions toward the local and world public with respect to cooperation, but naturally without betraying the fundamental national interests. There is no doubt that the critical role in this very field will be played by Slobodan Milosevic. His victory is convincing, and shows that the Serbian electorate votes for what is known and certain, on the basis of experience from the preceding period and the belief that he is the figure who will best lead the state in these tempestuous times. Many people believe that only he could carry out a radical turnaround without voters seeing this as a betrayal. Political analysts of local conditions see such a move as a new chance for Milosevic to dispel his image in the world's distorted mirror.

It is difficult to get over the impression that Milosevic's moves will largely depend on the message coming in from the world in the form of threats. The 1992 elections were conducted under unprecedented external pressure, and the effect of such a policy is demonstrated by the election results—those against whom Europe and the world raised their voices were the winners. It is likely that mutual adjustments in policy could foster peaceful and acceptable solutions, but as always in such situations, the question remains: Who will be the first to give in?

Even after the elections, of course, not one of the state's key problems has been diminished. Still hanging over the heads of the voters are the blockade and the inadequately defined relations between the federation and the republics, the search for a genuine economic program during the sanctions and afterwards, warnings about tense relations with the world.... After elections in which the competitors lacked comprehensive, serious programs and precise answers about how to keep their preelection promises, concern is ever greater, as is the obligation of those who have been qualified to govern. Through these election results, the political terrain in Serbia, Montenegro, and the FRY has been cleared of insignificant, pygmy parties, and the ones left are those that the citizens deem capable of pulling the country out of the crisis. At the same time, none of the elected parties enjoys the right to do whatever it wants and to justify this by its victory at the polls.

We recall that we went into the elections with two key political goals: to ensure the internal and external legitimacy of the authorities, and to return to the international community as an equal member. The extent to which we will be able to realize these goals depends most of all on the wisdom and tolerance of the elected officials, on their willingness to oblige other political opinions if that is in the interest of the nation and state, where no one has a monopoly over stipulating what that interest is. The elections are only a beginning.

DEPOS Position After Elections Analyzed

93BA0426F Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Dec 92 p 7

[Article by Djordje Martic: "Vojislav Kostunica on Postelection Yugoslavia: DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia] Remains, But With Changes"]

[Text] *The Democratic Movement of Serbia [DEPOS] received the amount of votes expected by the DSS [Democratic Party of Serbia]; the ruling party has plenty of cause for concern; the future of the opposition depends on its ability to unite; relations in DEPOS must be further formalized and controlled; where Dobrica Cosic erred.*

"The time is ripe," but conditions did not allow the election results to reflect that fact.

With this stance, Dr. Vojislav Kostunica explains the postelection reality of Serbia and Yugoslavia and defends his earlier, preelection assessments.

"The electoral conditions had a decisive effect on the outcome of the elections; in no sense was that outcome affected by the persuasiveness of the party programs, as is normally the case in parliamentary democracies," says Kostunica. He adds that this outcome by the voters in the Democratic Party of Serbia, one of the two key political parties in DEPOS, was predictable even before going to the polls.

Kostunica believes that DEPOS received the amount of votes that was expected by the Democratic Party. There are no big surprises here, although that movement was deprived of a certain number of voters' lists to the extent that there was electoral manipulation on the very day of the election.

Elections Like in Africa

On the elections themselves, the chairman of the Democratic Party of Serbia says that they speak for themselves ("these elections are a very good reflection of a regime in which such a political deed represents an unnatural political phenomenon") and that everything that happened on 20 December will be remembered for the unlikely number of violations of election rules.

"These elections completely invalidated the character of the citizen and his vote," says Kostunica, citing the many cases of voter registration lists being erased and added to, as well as other objections ("it all resembled the first elections in some recently liberated former colony in Africa"), noting that "the farce with the elections is continuing after the elections as well."

He says that DEPOS is now faced with annulment of the elections in a large number of poiling places in Belgrade, and says that this relates to parts of the city in which the Socialist Party of Serbia lost. "The socialists are now trying to improve their election results in these locations as well," because they are weakened by the success of DEPOS and Vojislav Seselj [Serbian Radical Party leader], Kostunica says. He adds that if the reasons for annulling the elections in Belgrade are accepted (the addition of voters to the registration lists on the day of the elections) then the elections should be annulled at practically every polling place in Serbia, meaning all the elections held on 20 December.

Asked what will happen to DEPOS after the elections, Dr. Kostunica says that even the previous elections demonstrated the advantage of unifying the opposition.

"If DEPOS had been a little stronger in resisting elections under these conditions, it is quite certain that the results would have been different," says the chairman of the Democratic Party of Serbia. In this way, however, the Democratic Movement of Serbia manifested the strength of and need for unity among democratic forces in opposition to an authoritarian regime.

SPS Strength Cut in Half

In the opinion of the chairman of the Democratic Party of Serbia, the past elections also showed that "the parties of democratic orientation, which tried to act individually and look for their base of support not in their own roots and strength, but rather in the support of individual figures, practically eliminated themselves from the political scene."

Kostunica says that DEPOS today is the number-three political group in Serbia, but also the only strong opposition force in Serbia. This movement emerged from the effort to bring democracy back to Serbia, and since that goal has not been achieved, there is a need for DEPOS to continue to exist. Especially under the changed political conditions emerging in Serbia after the recent elections.

"The strength of the ruling party, based on the number of deputies in the republican parliament, has been nearly cut in half, and based on the same criteria the strength of DEPOS is greater than it was after the December 1990 elections," says Kostunica. He adds to this scenario the circumstance that DEPOS is on the threshold of a complete electoral success in a large number of opstinas in Serbia and in Belgrade. "In a situation like this, the ruling party has plenty of cause for concern, because the carefree times over the past two years, with the majority that it had in the assemblies, are definitely over," says Kostunica.

At this time, he does not have a very reliable answer to the question of what the marriage between the SPS and the radicals will look like, whether those two parties will function as factions of one party, and how that coalition will reflect on the situation within the Socialist Party of Serbia. Kostunica says that the question is how that coalition will be regarded by many members and parts of the leadership of the SPS—where there was already one split upon the creation of the Social Democratic Party.

Kostunica believes that the socialists are in an even greater bind in the federal parliament, because "without Bulatovic they cannot have a majority in the Chamber of Republics, where even in the past cooperation with the Montenegrin socialists has been unsuccessful."

Dialogue Is Increasingly Remote

"The impossibility of achieving a majority in the Chamber of Republics puts Slobodan Milosevic in a situation in which he will not be able to push through a single one of his decisions, and thus not even his new administration, without the agreement of the other side," says Dr. Vojislav Kostunica. He adds that the confederal blocking elements in the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Constitution could place the Serbian socialists in a situation in which they will be unable to realize their goals, even with the cooperation of the radicals. That is a reality, Kostunica says, that will place a burden on the parliamentary and constitutional crises and be "resolved" either by new elections or changes in the Constitution, which will be even harder to achieve.

Kostunica sees the future of DEPOS primarily in the fact there is still no democratic system in Serbia ("even though we have moved closer to it"). It is certain, however, that "the Democratic Movement of Serbia must undergo changes in order to act more effectively under the new conditions."

"It is necessary to reexamine the previous performance of DEPOS, to draw a line in order to see what was good and what was not good in unifying the opposition into this movement," says Kostunica. His opinion is that even after the elections DEPOS cannot act inertly and in the same way that it did before 20 December. They cannot close their eyes to the election results, even though they are not a failure.

"It seems to me that relations in DEPOS should be further formalized and controlled, and it is certain that some of the parties that stayed out of DEPOS will be reexamining their action. All of this brings with it a need to consider the forms and extent of future cooperation," says Dr. Vojislav Kostunica.

In his words, there will also be a new effort to strengthen the Democratic Party of Serbia over the coming months.

It has made exceptional gains during less than half a year on the political scene, and especially in the last elections.

Commenting on relations in the federation, the DSS chairman says that the ruling party in Serbia has probably not escaped its current opposition position toward the federal leadership, while because of its poor "coalition options it will be isolated and able to cooperate only with the Serbian radicals."

"Based on his personal authority, FRY President Dobrica Cosic has been able to contribute much to political dialogue among party groups," says Kostunica. In his opinion, Cosic has placed himself in the position of "deliverer, who is above daily politics, discussion, and settlements," but to make things worse before the elections he supported individual parties and figures "who gained nothing from his support." As a result of all this, we are today "further and further away from something that we need most—normal political dialogue between equal participants in politics, without which there is no democracy," says Dr. Vojislav Kostunica.

Government Proposes Law on Army Financing

93BA0426H Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Dec 92 p 10

[Article by B. Zelesa : "Federal Government Proposal: Mountain of Money for New Armed Forces"]

[Text] *Everyone is in favor of changing and adapting the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia (VJ) to the new Yugoslavia, and the proposed "Law on Financing the Program of Material Provisions for Transformation of the VJ from 1993 to 1995" provides a list of expenditures for just such a massive undertaking, stating that 1.050 trillion dinars are needed for 1993, slightly less—866 billion—for 1994, and as little as 347 billion for 1995. It is noted that the funding is determined based on predicted prices in 1993 and on the basis of the estimated rise in retail prices in that year, 15 percent monthly. The plan mentions long-range missiles, tanks....*

This is the proposal by the Federal Government, which at the initiative of the new prime minister, Milan Panic, came up with that proposal very quickly, although the social—or actually parliamentary—reality has meant that not everything is going as planned. It is likely that after the new Assembly convenes things will move in the right direction, meaning detailed but faster consideration of the offered proposal in order to allow the desired transformation to be a qualitatively new step forward.

Details are cited on how this money is necessary for infantry weapons, armored combat vehicles, antitank combat equipment, self-propelled engineer machines, air force and antiair defense systems and equipment, naval operations and command systems, rear-echelon security systems and equipment, ammunition, mines and explosives, and other "trifles" in accordance with the special plan. According to the proposal, 188 billion dinars is needed for this in 1993 alone.

A rather large amount of money will be needed to construct certain military installations and to adapt old ones. Simply in order to look after the borders with Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia, for which there are plans to build several dozen watchtowers, 138 billion dinars will be needed in the new year, with even more needed later on.

Some 500 housing units should be created in 1993 for the needs of the armed forces, with the same number again in 1994. Plus a full 1,000 in 1995, for a total of 2,000. The program of investing in the development and restructuring of the military industry is very extensive, whereby special mention is made of readying and providing capacities for the production of ignition systems, rocket fuel, gunpowder, slow-burning and detonating fuses, artillery detonators, and explosive mine systems. In addition, there are planned capacities for the production of mortars, artillery and missile systems, electronic and communication systems, engineering equipment, equipment for personal water chlorination, and a number of medical needs.

Research on gunpowder, explosives, rocket fuel, special metal materials, pyrotechnics, and missile engines is planned within the framework of scientific and developmental work. For the needs of scientists, plans are also made for the resources necessary for a new generation of medium- and long-range antitank guided missiles, low-caliber weapons and ammunition system, new missile systems with modern guidance systems, special shells for mortars, a new domestic tank, new combat vehicles, an armored minelayer, the protection of aircraft from laser, radar, and IC self-guided systems, aerial bombs, systems for detecting low-flying targets, special cars for special and all-terrain purposes. Also needed will be funding in order to master, scientifically, the production of hand-held missile launchers, multiple missile launchers, mortars....

Money will also be needed to supplement the military stockpiles, which have been depleted over the course of the war, from food articles to various types of important medical supplies.

It is up to the deputies in the Federal Assembly to decide whether this entire plan corresponds to reality on this material-technical level, and whether the Yugoslavs—i.e., the Serbs and Montenegrins—can finance it. This is no easy task, nor is it any wonder that there is a desire to pass this hot potato off to someone else, from the old Assembly to the new one, and from one committee to another.

Navy Commander on FRY Fleet Capability

93BA0406B Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian
17 Dec 92 pp 17-18

[Interview with Milan Zec, battleship captain and fleet commander, by Petar Boskovic; place and date not given: "The Price of Independent Initiative"]

[Text] [Boskovic] Captain, you have spent more than 20 years in the Navy, you have held posts from ship and division commander, then chief of staff of the Kotor Bay sector, and then fleet commander, you have spent two years in specialized training, and then two years at the Command-Staff Academy, and a year in the Operations School. You are a bluewater officer, a field officer. The old personnel policy obviously did not [word indistinct] you?

[Zec] A majority of naval officers feel that the former elite conducted a bad personnel policy, and I agree with that, because personnel policy based on "ethnic quotas" is a story in itself, and I think that the events of the war have finally said the last word on that subject. It was made evident during the war that the method of choosing personnel at that time had disastrous consequences for the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. The line of professional competence was not always followed, unfortunately, but frequently channels based on poltroonery. It is incredible how loudly independent initiative of officers was proclaimed at the time, when at the same time even the smallest such attempt by a young officer, which I was at the time, was condemned. That kind of policy protected particularly "selected" officers. I was to feel that several times on my own skin. Especially when I served in Ploce—there was particularly fierce resistance offered by commands who liked the "Don't make waves" atmosphere. At that time, we did not even think that this was a more far-reaching policy, as it later turned out in the war.

I cannot forget the anger of Admiral Grubisic, former fleet commander, when on a visit to our unit he found our old syllabi and curricula. Those syllabi were optimum solutions, and we followed them. He demanded that they be thrown out and burned. He issued an order that we work exclusively according to the new syllabi, in which theory was dominant, even several hours a day, and they neglected ship maintenance, conditioning, and practical drills and exercises. Every objection from us was continually rejected. Fortunately, those who thought like I did found ways of retaining quite a few of the good features.

[Boskovic] It is obvious that you give a special place to officers with their own identity.

[Zec] The experience in the war indicates to me that all the officers who obtained their positions through poltroonery either broke down or surrendered. And those who thought with their own heads, who had their own identity, and for that reason were not favorites of their superiors, because they always had "some kind of objections"—took the burden of the war on their backs. Thanks to those people we today have all these ships, although I must say that at certain points we were below 50 percent of complement because of betrayal.

The war quickly brought our commanders at the tactical level of brigade and battalion up to the necessary level of decisiveness and independent initiative. They carried out the missions given them independently according to the principles governing the use of units in combat. No one any longer interfered with their command. People became aware of their responsibility. This method of operation has finally taken root, although, to make the absurdity all the greater, that is how the statutes had it legally all along. Every command level has its own powers. They must be respected. The inspection intervals fixed by law are sufficient to evaluate a commander's proper performance. If we are building a professional army, the laws and the regulations must be strictly complied with. Fortunately, we previously had a situation in which the fleet command interfered with practically every ship and the daily work of the commander. All out of a fear that possible mistakes would reflect on the reputation of the command. At least that is how I perceived it.

[Boskovic] How, then, are officers who show independent initiative to be protected?

[Zec] They do not need protection, they are protected by the statutes. If you read the statutes carefully, you see that they are directed toward developing independent initiative, which also implies professionalism. The new statutes emphasize this still more strongly. Incidentally, the war has presumably provided sufficient experience. Naval officers have broad powers and jurisdictions, but also great responsibility. I would not think of taking that away from them. Because then they would not be in a position to govern the ship's crew, and in that way I would be acting directly to break down their authority. A professional soldier must not allow himself to do that.

[Boskovic] The fleet, as the striking force of the navy, now faces new conditions—only 200 km of coast, not counting the islands. What will its role and tasks be in the future?

[Zec] The role and tasks ultimately remain unchanged. That is defense of the sea and the coast. However, the manner of use must change, and thereby also the appearance of the navy and the fleet as its principal factor. Because we no longer have islands and bays in which we could have natural protection, the previous conception of the fleet of "small fast ships" is inappropriate. So now there is talk about the open sea and bad weather conditions, especially in the wintertime, where seas regularly run higher than four on the Beaufort scale. Under those conditions, the use of small vessels is limited.

We must adopt a conception for the use of larger vessels, which are able not only to survive under all weather conditions at sea, but also to operate in combat with all available systems. These are frigates like our present large patrol vessels, missile gunboats, and submarines, mostly armed with rocket artillery weapons, but also with antisubmarine armament, because we are in the deepest part of the Adriatic, where the opportunity for the use of submarines is great.

The configuration of our coast, except for Kotor Bay, does not offer us the protection of ports sheltered from

all weather conditions. That is why we need a strong reliance of the fleet on coastal defense. That, of course, consists of observation systems, the "eyes and ears" of the navy when it is based in port.

[Boskovic] What is the level of combined action of the navy with other arms and branches of the armed forces?

[Zec] The fleet could not survive without combined action. We are not developing the conception of a fleet that would operate far from its shores, but close to its shores and in a defensive mode. So, when the fleet goes into action, combined action with the air force, coastal artillery, and missile units is inevitable. Although looked at individually and tactically, the character of its action is offense. After all, even in defense vessels operate offensively. The combined action of the navy and air force has best been shown on the southern wing of the front, in Hercegovina, where we were a very important complement in wartime operations. Even communications, which have been so much criticized, functioned irreproachably.

All the navies in the world want the most modern missile systems with the longest range. That is also what we want. Long range makes it possible to fend off an enemy or strike an enemy as soon as he makes an appearance in the Adriatic Sea in the Straits of Otranto. That means inflicting successive strikes on an enemy as he approaches our coast.

[Boskovic] What do you think about the possible conception of closing off the Straits of Otranto?

[Zec] For now, there can be no discussion of any conception, but the development of weapons and systems will bring that about. The missile systems which we have are well-known in the world. Nevertheless, they do not know what we have added to them. I say that these are missile systems which can give an adversary quite a surprise. But I am speaking about the possibilities of introducing altogether new missile systems which would be far better and more effective.

Now that we are talking about these problems, the public has been given a mistaken interpretation to the effect that the year of manufacture is the only important thing about a missile system. It is a fact, however, that every missile system is good if it has enough launchers to fire so many missiles that the adversary must divide his fire and his antimissile defense. The more missiles there are in the air, the less likely it is that each one will be eliminated. The number of enemy launchers is important to every fleet in the world. Military specialists and analysts know this quite well. On our coast, there are a very respectable number of launchers.

[Boskovic] How is the process of professionalization going in the fleet?

[Zec] Within the fleet, we already have a good percentage of professional personnel. By assessing and examining the situation, we decided that some of the sailors will also be professionalized, so that we will have a high percentage of professionals in the fleet. On ships like missile gunboats and submarines, we will even go up to 90 percent. Practical experience indicates that sailors who are helmsmen, signalmen, engine mechanics, cooks, and electricians may be professionals. Of course, there should also be a change in the outlook toward work on board ship in the sense that we are getting the best possible professionals who will be completely devoted to performance of their specialized task.

[Boskovic] Every transformation has its price?

[Zec] The navy was not inexpensive even before. But in the long run it will certainly pay off. Now that we are on the subject, we have seen attempts to compare the large patrol boat to a tank using a coefficient. This comparison is not valid, because these are armed systems that are altogether incomparable. A frigate which has air defense missiles, missiles against surface vessels, medium-caliber automatic cannons, small-caliber cannons, an antisubmarine system, observation systems, and an entire computer system, not to mention the power plant, which can be compared to a medium-size factory, cannot be compared across the board to other combat systems, nor can you compare their numbers to units of the ground forces.

Business Operation of Small Firms

93BA0464D Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Nov 92 p 5

[Article by E. Batkic: "Small Business Is Not Giving Up"]

[Text] *With only 3.5 percent of the employees in small private enterprises, over a third of the Vojvodina economy's total capital formation was achieved.*

At a time when the results for this year are being summed up and when there is not much good that can be said about the area of economic life (and other areas?), here is some information that once again demonstrates the advantages of private ownership. Even at a time when economic life is nearly dying, private enterprises are succeeding in somehow coping with the restrictions imposed by the sanctions, the general illiquidity, and the still numerous bureacratic measures of the state.

Perhaps this claim is best illustrated by the fact that 80 percent of the private enterprises (small ones) that submitted a regular account for the first 10 months of 1992, with only 3.5 percent of the people employed in the entire economy, created more than a third of the Vojvodina economy's capital formation.

The statistics show that there are 15,047 private enterprises in Vojvodina, almost five times as many as at the end of 1990. The most numerous are commercial ones (67 percent), industrial ones (11.3 percent), and ones in the area of financial services (8.7 percent). This is completely understandable if one knows that investments in commerce are considerably lower and that

capital is turned around quickly, although it is often emphasized that the state should use special incentives to encourage the migration of capital into production. For the time being things are the way they are, and wholesale trade, for example, which paid 800 percent more taxes than last year, contributed half of the total capital formation by private enterprises. In view of inflation this does not represent an increase in real terms, and even the fact that the earnings of those employed in the private sector were 11 times higher than last year is not a reliable reflection of reality in that light. In real terms they fell by 29 percent.

These data suggest the conclusion that the sanctions affected this part of the economy much less, and we are also hearing this assertion from the secretary of the Vojvodina Chamber of Commerce's small business association, Slavko Todorovic, with the reservation that business conditions have become more difficult in this sector as well. Private businessmen are most affected by the inability to collect payment, i.e., the general illiquidity, but the rigidity of the state and state bodies is also sometimes simply astounding. For example, as Todorovic told us, customs officers have not refrained from confiscating foreign exchange at the border from private businessmen who were going to register their enterprises in Hungary. They took away 300 (?!) German marks from one person who declared 1,500, and from another person who did not, they took all 1,500 German marks. It is true that this was an amount somewhat higher than permitted by regulations, but the question of whether private initiative and smuggling should be treated the same way should also be answered. Perhaps it is precisely during these months that we can see that it is not just a question of finesses but rather of vital issues. With us under pressure on all sides, goods are nevertheless somehow and to some extent arriving here from abroad. In order for them to be brought in, however, something probably has to be taken out.

Excessive Taxes Opposed by Private Businessmen

93BA0441C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 92 p 8

[Article by S. A.: "Private Businessmen Refuse To Pay Excessive Taxes"]

[Text] After the last wave of "price increases" in tax obligations, Belgrade's independent businessmen decided to refuse the request from the competent government body, i.e., the Republic Revenue Administration. They received the decisions increasing the advance payments of their tax obligations by more than 300 percent with bitterness, because they feel that they were adopted on the basis of flat-rate estimates, and the amounts do not correspond to the earnings achieved.

"They are explaining the new advance payments by high inflation and other price increases, but they are not thinking about the total devaluation of our work," said Uros Popovic, president of the Association of Independent Belgrade Businessmen, on behalf of the 20,000 members of this organization. "For example, I will say that an hour of labor at my electronics service cost 20 to 30 marks last year, and now it is exactly 10 times less."

Popovic added that the tax collectors were not giving any consideration at all to the totally changed business conditions, in which there is no opportunity to obtain semifinished products, spare parts, or fuel. Private businessmen have been forced willy-nilly to cope as well as they can, with buying on the black market or smuggling not being unknown methods. If one also adds to this the street foreign exchange market, the excessive printing of money, and the vast sea of smuggled goods that has flooded Belgrade, then it is clear that there are no objective possibilities for most private businessmen to achieve earnings that would correspond to the tax collectors' demands.

On the other hand, many shops have been forced to put padlocks on their doors in the face of extortion by "racketeers." Most of them are cafes and boutiques, but not even glasscutters and several other tradesmen that strong young men thought were prosperous have been spared from the "protection tax."

"If the external embargo can possibly be accepted, we have absolutely no sympathy for the total hampering of our activities in the internal framework," stated Popovic. "I am talking about certain new taxes and regulations that are literally tying our hands. One innovation is the so-called treasury maximum, i.e., the restriction on drawing cash from an account of up to 100,000 dinars a month, not to mention the lack of cash in trade. We have been forced into various tricks and manipulations, which, in turn, are hurting us."

The private businessmen are unanimous in their view that the government is acting in an intolerably arrogant manner, that it is turning a deaf ear to their requests for a dialogue and agreement, and that it is indifferent to the members of the Association, not just in Belgrade, but also in all of Serbia.

"Since they are refusing to talk, we will respond by refusing to pay the inappropriate advance payments. If there are pressures or forced collection, various incidents cannot be ruled out, because we do not have any other choice, since our hands are completely tied." Uros Popovic said in conclusion, conveying to us the position of the members of the Association of Independent Belgrade Businessmen.

Death of Intelligence Officer Opens Questions

93BA0440A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 21 Dec 92 p 17

[Article by Uros Komlenovic and Filip Svarm: "The Secrets of a Zemun Cell"]

[Text] Lieutenant Colonel Radosav Mitrovic began his annual vacation on 23 November with a stroll along the Danube. He did not take his wallet and identity card, he was wearing blue jeans, a windbreaker, and old shoes. He was supposed to take his son to school that day.

However, Lt. Col. Mitrovic had not returned even by dark. His worried wife informed his superior, who advised her not to report the disappearance to the police, because the army would do everything necessary.

Lt. Col. Mitrovic's body was found on Avala on 5 December. According to unofficial sources, he had beside him his CZ-99 service revolver, which was used for identification, and so there are stories going around both about homicide and suicide. According to POLITIKA EKSPRES, which cites sources close to the family, there was no firearm in Mitrovic's apartment, and those who saw the dead man in the open coffin say that he could not have been dead more than a few days.

All the Intelligence Services

Lt. Col. Mitrovic held the post of deputy chief of the Counterintelligence Department of the Security Administration of the Army of Yugoslavia [VJ]. His death, given the absence of official reports, has given rise to numerous speculations.

The Security Administration and the Second Administration of the General Staff constitute the intelligence-security complex of the VJ. Its job is state security and counterintelligence, while the Second Administration is turned abroad and toward conventional intelligence work. No separate security service has been formed, nor do its members have specific insignia, but rather the departments and sections of the service, along with their heads, are subordinate to field commanders. Members of the intelligence service are recruited from all arms and services of the armed forces. Up to now, the chief of the Second Administration has been subordinate to the chief of the General Staff, while the top man of the Security Administration had only the federal secretary, that is, the defense minister, above him.

Just as in the case of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], its intelligence service found itself in the maelstrom of the events of the war on the space of the former SFRY and it shared the fate of the multinational army of a state which no one wanted any longer. The unclear war objectives, the flights, the double agents, the divulgence of carefully kept secrets became everyday practice. The question which inevitably imposed itself was this: Exactly whose army is it?

That is, waging war from Slovenia, then Croatia, to Bosnia-Hercegovina, more accurately, retreating, the JNA of that time dragged with it a sizable portion of its non-Serb officer corps who believed in a Yugoslavia extending from Triglav to the Vardar. The military minister at that time was General Veljko Kadijevic, who was moving further and further away from his close friend Mr. Slobodan Milosevic. Persona non grata in the republics that had become independent, the army found its new state in Serbia and Montenegro, but its livelihood was contingent upon absolute support of the current regime. The price was an ethnic and ideological purge of the army, and in February and May 1992 some 70 generals and an undetermined number of lower-level officers were pensioned off. On the insistence of Gen. Bozidar Stevanovic, the new commander of RV i PVO [Air Force and Air Defense] Colonel Nedeljko Boskovic, retired, was temporarily (for six months) reactivated in March '92 and given the post of chief of the Security Department of the RV i PVO Command. Gen. Zvonko Jurjevic, who had headed the air force until that point, was retired, and his security chief Slobodan Rakocevic "fell" along with him. The fact that he is a Croat by nationality was enough to bring suspicion on Jurjevic under the new circumstances. Because the air force had proven itself relatively effective from a professional standpoint, it was not possible to use arguments along the lines of "treason," "incompetence," and the like, so something else had to be found. What was found was the Opera Affair.

The Opera Affair

That is, within the Security Department of the RV i PVO Command in Zemun a council for the psychological-propaganda effort, referred to as Opera, was formed under the command of Col. Slobodan Rakocevic, department chief. Two civilians who were staff members of the Security Administration in Zagreb were involved in the effort. They were Slavko Malobacic, former member of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] of the Republic of Croatia, and Radenko Radojcic, who worked with various files of the overabundant archives of the CK SKH [Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia] (the well-informed say that information from the entire former State Security had fetched up in those archives). With the help of Malobacic, Radojcic microfilmed the archives, destroyed some, and brought to Belgrade about 4 km of documents converted to A4 format. In the Security Department of the Air Force Command, they were working to organize psychological and propaganda warfare (such as distributing leaflets in Croatia compromising Mile "Hawk" Dedakovic...), and incidentally Radojcic formed the enterprise Opera Orientis, which organized air service between Belgrade and Krajina, using military aircraft. In late '91, an investigation began into the activity of Opera. It is hard to pinpoint the initiators of the investigation, but it is a striking fact that it was headed by Col. Nedeljko Boskovic. A team was formed that included Lt. Col. Svetozar Dzigurski, Major Katancic, and the late Lt. Col. Radosav Mitrovic, at that time a staff specialist in the Security Department of the Air Force Command.

At that time, all these officers were subordinates of Col. Rakocevic, but their investigation took place without his knowledge. The effort gained intensity in March 1992 when Boskovic's reactivation became official. One of his first moves was to block off the offices where the people in Opera worked and to arrest Radojcic. A military court

rejected the request for an investigation and discharged him. However, the changes in personnel also reached the military prosecutor's office, and there were changes in the military prosecutor of the Army of Yugoslavia, the military prosecutor of the 1st Military District, and the president of the court of that military district. In a session of the truncated SFRY Presidency on Friday, 8 May 1992, a decree was adopted to pension off another quite large group of generals. On Monday, 11 May, Branko Kostic signed the decree which promoted Nedeljko Boskovic to the rank of general, although he lacked two schools required for that position—the Command-Staff Academy and the National Defense School. That same morning, Gen. Boskovic is said to have turned up with his insignia already sewed on, accompanied by two members of the special forces of the Serbian MUP and took up his post, promising to clean out the "spies and traitors" at the top of the Security Administration, issuing an order that officers of Croatian nationality were not to come to work any longer.

The investigation of Opera was continuing at that time, but the methods had been intensified. If we are to believe well-informed sources, a completely illegal prison was created in the building of the RV i PVO Command, and at least nine people spent a total of about 270 days there. The arrestees even included civilians. It is true that the law allows military security officers to arrest civilians, but strong grounds are required for that. Detention may not last longer than 72 hours. An indictment must be filed within that period. It seems the arrestees were subjected to physical mistreatment: During investigation lasting 20 days, Milan Grkovic from Petrinja had his breastbone and several ribs broken (he was later transferred to Krajina for treatment), Radenko Radojcic fainted four times in five days, and Svetozar Dzigurski beat his colleague Lt. Col. Ivan Sobolovic, cursing his mother and calling him an Ustasha. A retired security colonel, Bogdan Vujic, known for his ability to conduct an investigation for 18 hours without interruption, was brought into the investigation. It has been learned that Dzigurski, Maj. Katancic, and several military policemen beat the arrestees. The arrestees were called upon to put the blame on their chiefs (Rakocevic, Gen. Vasiljevic, in the meantime removed from his position as chief of the army Security Administration, and Simeon Tumanov, his deputy).

Lt. Col. Ivan Sobolovic is also in prison. His name is associated with the well-known Labrador Affair. That is, this former member of the counterintelligence group (KOG) in the RV i PVO Command in Zagreb organized a network of collaborators in the MUP of the Republic of Croatia. In the fall of 1991, his position in Zagreb became untenable, and he went off to Banja Luka, leaving his memo book behind with his superior, Mirko Martic. On 15 September of that same year, Croatian forces took over the building of the RV i PVO Command in Zagreb, but Martic is said to have been extricated by his subordinate, Stjepan Rakaric, and put in a military hospital on Dubrava. It is said that Martic omitted to destroy the computer codes, disks, and Sobolovic's memo book. A month later, the MUP of the Republic of Croatia issued a press release on the arrest of 14 staff members of military security at the very top level of the ministry. Four were immediately released, and eight were later exchanged for a group of prisoners from Vukovar, including Dr. Vesna Bosanac. The investigators of the Opera Affair are using Martic as the key witness to support the charge against Sobolovic that he left the memo book behind in his apartment.

In any case, the upheavals in the Security Administration of the VJ culminate with the arrest of Gen. Aleksandar Vasiljevic, former head of that service, and the proceedings initiated against Gen. Simeon Tumanov, his deputy. The trial of the group involved in the Opera Affair and Gen. Vasiljevic is scheduled for 23 December, and the personnel picture at the top of the Security Administration has changed completely. Gen. Nedeljko Boskovic has become head of the service, while Col. Aleksandar Dimitrijevic has been appointed his deputy. Lt. Col. Radosav Mitrovic took an immense leap in the hierarchy and took over the post of deputy chief of the Counterintelligence Department of the Security Administration. The entire top leadership of the administration came from the RV i PVO, that branch of the armed forces that had been thoroughly purged of all potential opponents of the current policy.

Mysterious Death

The late Lt. Col. Mitrovic was the only security officer on the commission investigating the work of Opera, which was headed by Gen. Ljubomir Bajic. He is said not to have investigated those imprisoned in the building of the RV i PVO Command in Zemun, but it is said that he had a very notable role in that investigation. One thing is certain—he knew a lot. That in itself gives his unexplained death various political connotations. All options are open—from, as some people say, remorse because of his own role in the Opera Affair to, as others say—someone else's remorse.

Certainly the death of such a high-ranking counterintelligence officer opens up questions and at the same time cuts the answers short.

Weekly Reports Babic Split with FRY Leaders

93BA0439B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 92 pp 18-21

[Interview with Milan Babic, president of Knin Opstina and leader of the Serbian Democratic Party of Krajina, by Svetislav Spasojevic, NIN editor; place and date not given: "The Man Who 'Disappeared'"]

[Text] Milan Babic, president of Knin Opstina and the leader of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of Krajina, was removed from the red-hot Yugoslav political scene by what might be called a decree!

At the root of the "misunderstanding" between the leading figures in the Yugoslav capital and the leading figure from Knin is a disagreement over the Vance Plan. Mr. Babic has remained faithful to that age-old proposition that a "community of killers and killed" is impossible and therefore a definitive division of the former Socialist Republic of Croatia into Croatian and Serbian parts is simply an inevitability.

Even today the unrelenting, "hard-headed dentist from Knin," regardless of what has happened in the meantime, sees Serbia exclusively as a state consisting of all the ethnic Serbian areas. So, by no means as Morava Serbia. Like Jovan Ducic, he says that any community of Serbs and Croats is "life in the most shameless marriage of some kind degenerates."

Mr. Babic, temporarily displaced from the political life of his people by a decision of someone powerful who thought differently, has every prospect of returning soon to the political scene, democratically and by the front door. He is today advocating elections in the Serbian Republic Krajina [RSK], and that on the same day when they are held in Serbia and Montenegro. He says that this is being prevented by those same people who tried to ostracize him from public life. He says that in his Belgrade he is gladly received by His Holiness Serbian Patriarch Pavle, by Dobrica Cosic, president of Yugoslavia, as well as by leading Serbian intellectuals....

In his account for readers of NIN, Mr. Babic testifies above all to the illusionist Serbism of certain leading political figures in Belgrade. The persistent man from Knin calls Yugoslavia "a fata morgana which has brought the state of Serbia to disaster."

[Spasojevic] Mr. Babic, you were until yesterday, so to speak, one of the leading media figures among the Serbs. All of a sudden you disappeared! What have you been doing aside from being president of the Knin Opstina Assembly and the leader of the Krajina SDS?

[Babic] I have been involved with my country Krajina, my family, the world around me. In short, I am concerned with ideals and desires to create a safe and peaceful life on the Serbian territory on which I live, together with all those who have the will, the knowledge, and the determination. I see a secure, rich, and peaceful life as the foundations on which the Serbian Republic Krajina should be based.

I do not know, then, whether it could be said, as you have put it, that I disappeared.

[Spasojevic] You were in the Belgrade newspapers and on television every day. All of a sudden, it is as though someone turned you off.

[Babic] Television, and also the newspapers, have up to now been mainly the property of the state of Serbia, but I did not wage war with it so that the state of Serbia excommunicated me. However, there was a profound disagreement with the people at the head of Serbia, and that is the reason why my voice and those of many others who did not agree with them could not be heard. But times are changing. This interview of ours is the best confirmation of that.

[Spasojevic] In Serbia, we have turned patriotism into an occupation. That is the main argument for taking power and staying in power. Do you really think that if the regime in Serbia changes the Serbian people would not have the same attitude toward the Serbs outside the present Yugoslavia? For a time, you supported Milosevic, thinking probably that he is the only real Serb.

[Babic] The interest of the Serbian people in Krajina, which came into conflict with the interest of the newly formed Croatian state, coincided with the political program of Slobodan Milosevic, or at least it seemed so at the time.

Just before the elections in Serbia in 1990, as far as I recall, Mr. Milosevic came out with the programmatic position "All Serbs in one state." That was what all Serbs on the space of the former Yugoslavia wanted to hear. It especially suited us, because we were on the edge of Serbian space and were the first exposed to the blow of the other states that were formed on the soil of the former Yugoslavia. This identity of political objectives lasted only a short time, more precisely, until March 1991.

To this day, we have remained consistent with our original idea that there is no survival for the Serbian people over the entire space of the former Yugoslavia unless it unifies, unless a single Serbian state is created. That has been our policy, and we have remained devoted to it, because for us there is no other way out.

Not long after the March demonstrations in Belgrade, more precisely since the end of March 1991, the policy which we conducted in Krajina parted company with the proclaimed policy in Serbia. That is, since March 1991 it could not be said that we have had the same policy, much less that we supported it.

[Spasojevic] Mr. Babic, do you have tangible proof that even then the Serbian regime did not honor the proposition of all Serbs being in one state?

[Babic] The most tangible proof that it departed from that main political proposition of "All Serbs in one state" even in March 1991 is the content of the agreement between the president of Serbia with Tudjman in Karadjordjevo.

Milosevic told me at the time, showing me on the map which parts of Krajina he would let Croatia have, that in exchange Tudjman would help him in the political elimination of Ante Markovic.

Not long after that I also learned that Milosevic promised Tudjman at that time that he would not touch the Zagreb—Knin—Split highway route. These political agreements were to be given a scientific foundation by

so-called groups of experts on the Serbian side (Dr. Kosta Mihailovic, Dr. Smilja Avramov, Dr. Milenko Kreca, Dr. Vladan Kutlesic...) and the Croatian side, which in fact they did at a meeting in Tuskanac (Zagreb), and the same in Oplenac.

Our answer to that agreement between Milosevic and Tudjman, to which we were not a party, was to set up police stations in Plitvice and Bratiskovci near Skradin, in order to protect ourselves, and our political response was the decision on annexation to Serbia.

In April 1991, we proclaimed that we were being annexed to the Republic of Serbia and remaining in Yugoslavia, which was confirmed in a referendum in Krajina which was held 12 May 1991. The Krajina Assembly at that time elected a deputy group which was supposed to present in the Serbian National Assembly the results of the referendum and the decision of the Serbian people in Krajina on annexation to the Republic of Serbia. I was utterly astonished at that time when I received the message from Belgrade that that deputy group should not come to the Serbian National Assembly. In spite of the disagreement, we sent the deputy group to Belgrade, but it was not allowed to inform the Serbian National Assembly about the results of the referendum in Krajina. It was received by the vice president of the Assembly and several members of parliament and taken out to dinner privately. From that time on, right up until the well-known meeting of the Presidency, an arrogant policy began to be conducted toward Krajina, that is, toward its leadership, and the people who came to Krajina as experts to help in certain fields in setting up the system in Krajina began to become involved in Krajina politics in the service of the regime in Belgrade.

I do not know whether you know that in late July 1991 a classic putsch was attempted in Krajina, organized by the "guests" from Belgrade. These were all manifestations of the disagreement with our policy.

Instead of debating the results of the referendum on annexation in Krajina, the Serbian National Assembly adopted a declaration which simply watered down and postponed the entire matter. If I am permitted to assess the policy of the leadership of Serbia in that period, I would say that it lacked decisiveness, it lacked a sense of timing in making crucial political decisions. That policy groped in the wake of events, it was always late. When all is said and done, there is good reason to ask whether that was the case because of a lack of program, clear objectives, or, also possible, the absence of a desire to do anything?

[Spasojevic] Did the roots of that rebellion of which you speak reach back to Belgrade?

[Babic] That rebellion, that putsch, was carried out directly by people who had come from Belgrade.

[Spasojevic] Shall we list them? Perhaps they....

[Babic] In Krajina, these names are well-known, but of little importance to it. The people know quite well who and what were involved.

[Spasojevic] Fine, we will not name them then, although I also know which people were involved.... At the moment when Tudjman and Milosevic were conferring in Karadjordjevo, you were the most influential politician in Krajina. And Milosevic did not consult you about that at any point?

[Babic] I got the sense from a conversation with Milosevic that there might be bargaining between him and Tudjman. In that case, we would be a bargaining chip. And precisely in order to prevent an agreement that did not include us, we began to express much more definitely and stridently our position that the status of Krajina could not be decided without the government in Krajina. That position of ours, however, I would go so far as to say our warning, was not heeded. So as early as April 1991, then, Slobodan Milosevic and I had our first verbal conflict. He was trying to convince me that Yugoslavia could survive, and I advocated a unified Serbia. It was evident that this was not an insignificant dispute between us. Two different conceptions for resolving the Serbian question were clearly defined.

[Spasojevic] What did the president of Serbia mean when he referred to Yugoslavia?

[Babic] He was not clear and precise. But he tried to persuade me at that time that Yugoslavia could survive as the state it had been from the territorial standpoint. I said that from what I knew about the disposition of the Croats and what we in Krajina had already done, with respect to the political organization and official establishment of Krajina, a year after the ethnic Croatian parties had come to power, they were breaking up Yugoslavia and Yugoslavia was no more. I said that the only solution was for us to create Serbia in good time.

To tell the truth, later he spelled out that conception of his a bit more, and he mentioned the remainder of Yugoslavia. Thus, we, in the belief that he would be consistent with that option—that is, the remainder of Yugoslavia together with us—organized a referendum on the question of joining Serbia and remaining in that Yugoslavia.

Later, however, it turned out that the regimes in Belgrade and Podgorica did not respect even that commitment. The commitment to the remainder of Yugoslavia with all the Serbs was unfortunately not realized. A new Yugoslavia was made, but without a large portion of the Serbian people and the space on which it lives.

[Spasojevic] Those were all preconditions for the war between Zagreb and Knin.

[Babic] Knowing of possible territorial concessions on this space, I was the one who initiated the effort at that time to establish ourselves militarily at strategic points so as to defend our space. Those were Plitvice, Udbina,

and Bratiskovci. That is in fact why we established the police stations, which upset them greatly in Belgrade, and Plitvice was the beginning of the war between Croatia and Krajina.

[Spasojevic] How did the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] react at that time?

[Babic] The people in the JNA General Staff were not enthusiastic about the establishment of our police stations. It was only the Croatian side that looked unfavorably on those actions of ours.

[Spasojevic] But also the Serbian side?

[Babic] I would not say the Serbian side, but the side of the regime in Serbia. That puts it more accurately. Serbia is always more than the government that represents it. At least it has been since 1945.

[Spasojevic] Few Serbs know the size of the Serbian Republic Krajina and how many Serbs are in it.

[Babic] In the Serbian Republic Krajina today there are about 420,000 on an area of 14,000 square kilometers.

[Spasojevic] Fine, is that an area like Montenegro? More or less. A bit larger?

[Babic] Yes, if the area of Montenegro is 13,812 square kilometers, then that area is somewhat larger. The Serbs, however, on the space of Slavonia have lost about 5,000 square kilometers of historical space of the Krajina and Serbian ethnic space, as well as a large portion of the Gorski Kotar.

[Spasojevic] Would you give us a little explanation about Slavonia. How did the Serbs lose it?

[Babic] When we began to create Krajina in 1990, that is, to speak more precisely—when we began to revive it as a Serbian ethnic entity, we planned for an alliance of Serbian opstinas to be its nucleus. That is, to create a community of opstinas on the space of northern Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun, Banija, and Slavonia in a democratic way, through a procedure based on law. However, that project of bringing together opstinas did not cover the entire space of Serbian Krajina for the simple reason that the Croats, by abolishing certain opstinas between 1955 and 1962, merged many Serbian opstinas with others which at that time had a Croatian majority. That is why we planned to annex all the Serbian settlements that gravitated toward the Serbian opstinas and to organize the territory as a community of opstinas. We succeeded in that to the greatest degree, so that by the end of 1990 we had through the community of opstinas brought together about two-thirds of the Serbian space of Krajina and formed the Serbian Autonomous Oblast [SAO] Krajina. Western Slavonia, with its Serbian majority, was a problem. This mainly has to do with Pakrac Opstina.

The policy of the regional committee of the SDS for Slavonia was directed differently. At that time an important political factor in that area, Dzakula and others, had not committed themselves to integration with the community of opstinas, that is, with SAO Krajina. They began very late the effort to unify Serbian settlements around Pakrac, only in early 1991. But they did not succeed. All that was achieved at that time was to revive Okucani Opstina, which existed until 1962, and it decided to join SAO Krajina. So, only one from the space of Western Slavonia.

Western Slavonia entered an armed conflict with Croatia without being politically and organizationally prepared. It is also essential to bear in mind that the role of the JNA varied from one part of Western Slavonia to another. In the area of Okucani, there were military units whose commanders were resolved to defend that section, while in the area of Daruvar and Podravska Slatina the JNA had a quite different role. I think in the end there was no interest in the JNA committing itself to defense of that area.

The main role in the abandonment of Western Slavonia was played by its incompetent leadership, but also by leading figures in the structure of the JNA.

[Spasojevic] The fault for the war that was lost in that part of the territory is borne more than by anyone else by the country's top political leadership, although the top military leadership was not innocent either in that unseemly business. One day we will have to look seriously at who lost the war. Was it the generals, the truncated SFRY Presidency...?

[Babic] It is my opinion that they were not in the least ready to commit themselves in Western Slavonia.

[Spasojevic] Are you referring to the top military or top civilian leadership?

[Babic] Both the military and the civilian. In the fall of 1991, General Blagoje Adzic told me this, and I quote, "If I were not ashamed, I would pull the army out of Western Slavonia."

[Spasojevic] And he left the Serbian people to Croatia! How many Serbs are there in that area?

[Babic] That is an area in which about 100,000 Serbs lived in a compact entity.

[Spasojevic] Then that was left to Croatia!?

[Babic] Except for the area of Okucani, all that was left to Croatia.

[Spasojevic] And the army let that go calmly, without any major effort?

[Babic] Yes, yes...there in the area of Vocin, Daruvar...there was a campaign by the officers to get the people to resettle. It seems incomprehensible, but that is the truth.

[Spasojevic] Now that we have mentioned Gen. Adzic, please tell me what happened between you in that famous meeting of the Yugoslav Presidency in which the Vance Plan was debated? There is a great deal of wild talk about your conflict with him, but also with the others.

[Babic] I had had two meetings with Gen. Adzic before that.

[Spasojevic] At that point he was chief of the JNA General Staff.

[Babic] Yes, chief of staff. In the first meeting, that was while the Hague Conference was going on, I asked him not to form the 6th Lika Division because the population in Krajina was upset because of memories of the last war. He did not honor my request. He did nevertheless support my assurance that we could create a unified Krajina from Srpska Krajina and Bosanska Krajina. He said that that area should and could be preserved. In late 1991, when the Vance Plan was already being circulated, the general had an altogether different opinion. He had become a great advocate of acceptance of the Vance Plan. And in the meeting of the Presidency, the famous one which lasted three days, he was the one who frightened the presidents of opstinas from Krajina, who were attending, by speaking of a military defeat! All of that was horrible. Not to mention the tears shed by Generals Mladic and Kukanjac in that meeting. They were not crying because that army was leaving, but because I would not grant consent to the Vance Plan.

[Spasojevic] Who opposed him aside from you?

[Babic] All the members of my government. We were of the same opinion, because we had all examined the Vance Plan in detail and because the Krajina Assembly debated that plan in December 1991 and adopted a precise decision that it was unacceptable for us in that form. We favored a modification of that plan that would have deployed the UN forces on the principle of the green line, that is, the line of conflict. The members of the government and I advocated nothing in that meeting aside from the positions of the Assembly and our own conviction, knowing that acceptance of the Vance Plan, as it was proposed, is disastrous for us.

[Spasojevic] I do not believe that Gen. Adzic defended a personal commitment. He was probably defending someone else's opinion. You yourself say that before that he had thought and spoken differently about it?

[Babic] Yes, it also seems to me that he did not have his own opinion, or he easily changed it at someone's suggestion. It is well-known to everyone that the Vance Plan was signed on the Serbian side by Milosevic along with Tudjman and Kadijevic, and that he accepted it before any of the public discussions of it. Vance and Carrington, along with Milosevic, Tudjman, and Kadijevic, approved that plan. After its approval, it was only a question of imposing it on us to whom the plan directly applied and without whose consent it could not have been adopted.

[Spasojevic] I do not know whether you had an opportunity to hear the debate in the Yugoslav Assembly between Dobrica Cosic and Bora Jovic. President Cosic was accused of being to blame for betrayal of the Serbian people outside the borders of the present Yugoslavia. On that occasion, the member of the academy said that he was only carrying out what Messrs. Jovic and Milosevic had already signed. What do you think about that?

[Babic] President Cosic is absolutely right. On New Year's Eve 1991, during Vance's last visit to Belgrade in 1991, I met in the building of the SFRY Presidency with Messrs. Borisav Jovic, Branko Kostic, Jugoslav Kostic, and Sejad Bajramovic. Before that, I had learned the content of the Vance Plan, because Mr. Marrack Goulding had presented it to me in detail. But that was the first time I saw the plan on paper on that visit to Borisav Jovic. At that time, he asked me to concur with that plan and to make a statement that I accepted it. I asked to see the text of the plan. I said that I saw no change in the plan. At that, Mr. Jovic asked me: "Has anything changed on your part?" I replied: "Of course not." My opinion of that plan is well-known and I had no right to back off from it. He then threatened me that if I did not agree and did not make a statement that I agreed with the Vance Plan, that they would then initiate a public campaign against me.

[Spasojevic] Were you frightened?

[Babic] Why should I be frightened? I knew at the time, and later on time has demonstrated it, that I was right. They then convinced Vance that all sides had accepted the plan, but we said that we did not. After that, the president of Serbia sent me an open letter. The open letter was immediately preceded by my decision banning the activity of all communist parties, movements, and organizations on the territory of the Serbian Republic Krajina. I think that that decision of mine to a considerable extent, perhaps even decisively, contributed to that timing of his letter, which in its spirit was an attempt to refute my decision banning communist organizations....

[Spasojevic] He sent you a letter, you replied to him....

[Babic] In that letter, he spoke more about himself than about me. That was on 8 January of this year, and my response came three days later. Because his letter had no impact whatsoever; that is, the message in it met with no response in the Serbian people in Krajina, the negotiations had to be resumed, and on 27 January Mr. Goulding came to Knin to assure us that the Vance Plan was a good one. His visit opened up the opportunity to talk about a modification of the Vance Plan. He did not consent to drawing up a new plan, but he allowed the possibility of its modification. Boutros Ghali, UN secretary general, repeated the same thing on the basis of Goulding's report on 5 February in his report to the

Security Council. But in spite of all that, they wanted the Vance Plan adopted in its form at that time, completely and unconditionally. I must confess that for me those words "completely and unconditionally," which Branko Kostic repeated in a session of the Assembly in Glina when he was pressuring the Assembly to adopt that plan, insisting at the same time that it be entered precisely that way in the minutes of the Assembly, sounded like a surrender. And neither the Assembly nor the Serbian Republic Krajina were ever recognized either by the (truncated) SFRY Assembly or the Republic of Serbia, although Messrs. Jovic and Kostic promised that in early December 1991.

To recall, we were requesting only a modification of the plan, regardless of the constant imputation that we opposed the peace plan and were in favor of war. As soon as Goulding left Knin, that notorious monstrous meeting of the SFRY Presidency was scheduled, the one in which the ultimatum of adopting the plan at any price was presented.

[Spasojevic] Why did the Serbian regime do that, when all the while it was saying that it was the defender of Serbs outside Serbia? How do you explain that?

[Babic] When the Hague Conference began, that is, when the first version of the Hague document on Yugoslavia was drafted, the provision for us was that our issue would be resolved through special status in Croatia. That was actually a declaration of war behind the scenes between us and those who imposed that status on us. What was visible in public concerning the Vance Plan had already played out behind the scenes at the time when the Hague document was adopted. At that time, Milosevic openly told me to accept special status and that he was simply cutting us loose.

[Spasojevic] Please be precise: certainly not Serbia.

[Babic] That is what the head of Serbia said. In the name of Serbia. He said: "And we will cut you loose." On that occasion, Mr. Milosevic told me that only Serbia—here he was referring only to Morava Serbia—has the chance of being a state, and that all the rest will be swallowed up by darkness. I was astonished at the time by two things. First: how he could so offhandedly allow a large portion of the Serbian ethnic territory outside the Republic of Serbia to slip into oblivion. Second: How could he dare tell me that I would be swallowed up by the darkness? Something else. He uttered all that so calmly that even at this moment I feel uneasy thinking about those words of his.

Serbia

Russian Group Tells Milosevic Sanctions To End

LD1401191393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1501 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia today received a Russian parliamentary delegation, which also included distinguished businessmen, journalists, scientific and public workers.

During their cordial talks, as the Office of the President of the Republic reports, current social, economic and political trends in Serbia and Russia were discussed, as well as other issues of particular interest to the two countries.

It was stressed that Serbia and Russia are firmly bonded by their long-standing friendship, that the Serbian and Russian people harbor sincere feelings of mutual understanding and respect, and have a mutual interest in maintaing and developing these values linking the two peoples.

The guests from Russia pointed out that it is necessary for the Russian leadership to redress its mistake committed against Serbia in upholdong sanctions, all the more so given the fact that such a policy pursued by the Russian Government has inflicted a great deal of material damage on Russia's economy.

The latest agreement in Geneva confirms the correctness of the policy of the Republic of Serbia, which has always advocated in a principled way the principle of consensus as a basis for a political solution of the crisis and restoration of peace in these lands, and that the rights and interests of each of the three constituent nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina be equally honored. In so doing the Geneva conference reverted to the only politically correct approach, thus proving the untenability of its attitude toward Serbia and Yugoslavia.

In the words of the guests, the Russian parliament should decide to lift the sanctions against Yugoslavia, thus expressing objectively the attitude of the Russian people, who oppose pressures against Serbia and the Serbian people.

Expressing their support for the policy of the Republic of Serbia and for President Slobodan Milosevic personally in his commitment to peace and equality among states and nations, the Russian deputies said they believe that their parliament would soon decide to lift the embargo in the interest of the further successful development of comprehensive cooperation. To this end, it is necessary for the Russian public to be acquainted with a comprehensive and objective view of the causes and consequences of the Yugoslav crisis and Serbia's efforts to restore peace and reach a just political solution in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In the course of the talks a great deal of mutual interest was stated in continuing the cooperation and links of business partners from Serbia and Russia, and of intensifying work on the implementation of joint projects.

The Russian parliamentarians invited a delegation of the Serbian Assembly to visit Russia.

Russian Minister: Milosevic Supports Vance, Owen

93BA0464A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jan 93 p 3

[TANJUG article: "Milosevic Supports Vance and Owen"]

[Text] The Russian leadership is proceeding from the fact that in spite of the tragic course of events in the former Yugoslavia, "the possibilities for a political settlement of the conflict are far from exhausted, and it remains the priority task."

This was stated by Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev to the NOVOSTI Russian news agency's correspondent in an interview especially for BORBA. On that occasion the minister also said that on the evening of 30 December he had a lengthy telephone conversation with Milosevic, which "in a certain way concluded the series of contacts" between the Russian minister and the leaders of all the sides involved in the conflict, contacts which he otherwise had in Geneva.

"In all of those contacts, we expressed very great caution with respect to all plans to use force, since if anything is lacking, for instance in Bosnia-Hercegovina, it is certainly not the methods of force, but rather precisely the political will and readiness to resolve issues through negotiations," Andrei Kozyrev said.

The Russian minister expressed satisfaction that all the sides in the conflict, including Milosevic, had expressed support in principle for the Vance and Owen plan that was discussed at the 2 January meeting of the sides involved in the conflict. Among other things, that plan provides for ensuring equal rights for all three communities in Bosnia-Hercegovina, ending the practice of ethnic cleansing in that region, ensuring human rights, closing the camps, and naturally ending such monstrous crimes as mass rapes, etc.

It was also discussed in the telephone conversation with Milosevic. As Andrei Kozyrev stated, "he also promised that he would offer the world convincing proof that it was not happening, at least on the Serbian side." The Russian minister thought that "a certain consensus is being formed" on the basis of this plan, although naturally agreement is still pending on several disputed issues, especially with respect to territorial demarcation.

According to him, one of the most acute issues is enforcing the flight ban imposed by the UN Security Council, which is viewed as a significant measure by both Milosevic and Cosic.

Answering a question from the correspondent in connection with the discussion being conducted in NATO and the Western European Union about the possible use of force in order to settle the conflict, Andrei Kozyrev stated that after his talks with Roland Dumas [French foreign minister] that there would be a joint discussion of issues in connection with further measures to settle the situation in the former Yugoslavia, "so that there would not be any surprises on any side." The Russian minister emphasized that the use of combat aircraft in the region of the conflict would indicate a "new phase of the war," and a "new dimension of bloodshed" that must not be allowed. According to him, support was given to the proposal that Russia presented at the meeting in Stockholm, that the use of combat aircraft be banned in all conflicts, and thus consequently in both international and regional ones. In this regard, of course, the flight ban must not be allowed to be applied selectively, for instance, with respect to Bosnian Serbs or Muslims, with the Croats continuing their flights. An important task arises from this—ensuring the safety of flights for humanitarian purposes.

(The interview was conducted on New Year's Eve.)

Figures Given on Refugee Situation in Serbia

93BA0440B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 21 Dec 92 p 31

[Article by Aleksandar Ciric: "Homeless Until Further Notice"]

[Text] The tear of a child negates the existence of God, Dostoyevsky said. What do the tears of 1.2 million children of "our" refugees negate? UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali last week published a qualified estimate of the competent services that today 3.045 million people qualify for the "status" of refugee from the former Yugoslavia or in it. In other words, one out of every eight citizens of the former state is today homeless because someone else wanted it that way. That is statistics, an instrument without sentiment.

The Commissariat for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia the day before yesterday made public figures on refugees in Serbia: There are about 550,000 of them in the estimate of the commissariat and the Red Cross; there is good reason to believe that another 160,000 have by not registering avoided the "blessing" of government—and political—concern for their fate. In short, the real number of refugees in Serbia is today more than 700,000 people. Most are from Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, many fewer from Slovenia, and least from Macedonia. Every day between 500 and 2,000 former citizens of Yugoslavia come to Serbia. Recently, there has been a considerable increase in the number of refugees from that area of Croatia that was not affected by the war: the bloody ethnic "cleansing" of Bosnia-Hercegovina is being joined by the slow and certain quiet ethnic cleansing of the new ethnic states in the Balkans.

The refugees change not only the picture of the regions that receive them, but everything else as well: In Mali Zvornik, they already represent nearly half of the population, in Ljubovija, Loznica, and Indjija—one-fourth, and in hardly any of the remaining 16 opstinas that have the greatest burden of refugees, on which the commissariat gives figures, do they constitute less than 10 percent of the population. Thus, Belgrade, much sooner

than foreseen by the demographers and urban planners, has become a city of two million: One out of every seven people in it is homeless. Not counting the "old" ones who were homeless before. Nor the younger ones from all over who "voted with their feet." There is no consolation whatsoever in the expectation that the emigre culture of those young people will provide us a ticket to the present in some imaginable/unimaginable future. "The future is far off, fuck it," said a sober refugee.

Military Court President on Proceedings

93BA0438B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Dec 92 p 10

[Article by Jovica Danilovic: "Lt. Col. Novak Todorovic, President of the Supreme Military Court of the Republic of Serbia: Serbs, Muslims, and Croats Are All Before the Court"]

[Text] *Two thousand cases heard in three and a half months of work.—The perpetrators of the most serious criminal acts most often outside the range of justice.—The prisoner's dock also awaits Juka Prazina*

Han-Pijesak, 12 December. After a decision of the Presidency of the Republic of Serbia that the Assembly formalized on 31 May of this year and, since the personnel and the conditions for work had been provided, military courts were formed in the Serbian Republic at the end of August. Military courts of first jurisdiction are largely functioning in Sarajevo, Bileca, Bijeljina, and Brcko and the Supreme Military Court in Han-Pijesak. Military prosecutor's offices are also working in the same places.

We spoke about the work of the military judiciary with the president of the Supreme Military Court of the Republic of Serbia, Lt. Col. Novak Todorovic, who has been at this post since the establishment of the Supreme Military Court.

"From the establishment of the court up to now, almost 2,000 criminal cases have been placed under our jurisdiction and 30 verdicts of first jurisdiction have gone into effect," says Todorovic. "Moreover, about 500 investigations have been completed that are now awaiting an indictment. This is a huge number of cases, both in relation to the work of military courts in peacetime and to all courts in a peaceful period.

"The highest number of criminal acts relate to actions against the armed forces: failure to respond to the military callup, desertion from the Army, attacks on military personnel, failure to undertake measures to protect units. The perpetrators are mainly people subject to military conscription of Serbian nationality, but also enemy soldiers, Muslims and Croats. The next group of criminal acts falls into property crime (robbery, serious theft) and the next capital offenses. Most often the acts are committed by military personnel on each other in Serbian units, or outside them, while military personnel on leave whose 'courage' and resolve to 'carry out' justice themselves have resulted from their being armed.

"Until they have been placed under control, or disbanded, this group of criminal acts has been characteristic of paramilitary formations that have 'fabricated' justice according to their standards," Lt. Col Novak Todorovic continued. "There are also 65 criminal cases in progress for criminal acts committed against humanity and international law, the perpetrators of which are mainly Muslims and Croats who carried out genocide against civilians, in most cases of Serbian nationality, in unprotected Serbian villages or prisons. The majority of the perpetrators of these crimes are beyond the range of justice.

"But, proceedings have been initiated against Ismet Bajramovic, called Celo, director of the Central Prison in Sarajevo, Edin Bahtic, former football player on the national team and member of the Sarajevo Railway, now director of the Concentration Camp in the 'Vladimir Nazor' school for retarded children in the Sarajevo settlement of Hrasnik. There is also Samir Krusko, who attacked and arbitrarily took prisoner eight soldiers at Alipashino Polje this year, then locked them in the garage of the City Trolleybus Enterprise and mistreated them until they died.

"The prisoner's dock also awaits Jusuf Juka Prazina and his brother Alija. Criminal charges are also being brought against Azem Delic, director of the Concentration Camp in Bradina (Konjic District), where he unjustifiably deprived more than 250 civilians, including some elderly people, of their freedom and ordered them to be beaten, mistreated, and killed.

"The perpetrators of the criminal acts that we have been able to resolve are spending the time of the criminal procedure in our prisons, set up by international standards.

"Ten verdicts with conditional sentences have been rendered in the past three and a half months. These men of various nationalities are free and move about as they please. Regardless of national affiliation, we carry out criminal proceedings according to uniform standards."

Krajina Firms Offer Products to Serbia

93BA0441A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 92 p 8

[Article by S. Cedic: "The Serbian Krajina's Economy Is Presenting Itself to Serbia"]

[Text] *More than 45 enterprises will show their colleagues here what they have and what they could offer to alleviate the consequences of the war devastation there and the international isolation here; a five-day gathering at the Metropol hotel will start on Monday at 1000.*

The way out for many empty warehouses, stopped machines, and the empty shops of Serbian businessmen

is perhaps in the Serbian Krajina. Whether that is true, and how much the economies of the two republics can help each other through greater mutual cooperation in alleviating the consequences of the war devastation and international isolation, will be seen in just a few days, because on Monday businessmen from the Serbian Krajina are arriving in Belgrade precisely in order to show their insufficiently informed counterparts here what they have, and especially what they could offer in future economic cooperation.

The exhibition of the economy of the Republic of Serbian Krajina will last for five days at the Metropol Hotel. So far, 45 firms from nine branches of the economy, from the machinery, textile, and food industries to tourism, have announced that they are coming with finished products and development possibilities. According to people from a private enterprise for marketing, sales, and communications (MSK), however, who, motivated by basic instincts, organized this imminent meeting between businessmen from the two republics, with a great deal of effort contacts are being established every day with some other Krajina firm, and so the final number of exhibitors will only be known just before the opening of the exhibition at 1000 on Monday.

"All the Krajina enterprises that will present themselves in Belgrade are more or less working, but they could produce and offer much more, and we want to inform businessmen here about it. Previously the Krajina economy was mostly oriented toward Zagreb, and that is why not enough is known here about its capabilities. On the other hand, it needs assistance, not by sending it trucks of food, but rather by employing and utilizing its facilities," stated Mirko Rnjak, the MSK firm's technical director. "We know little about what is being done in the Krajina. For the most part it is not known that the Orlic agricultural cooperative in Markovac near Knin supplied Zagreb's Intercontinental with its smoked ham, that the highly praised baby food labeled Plive actually came from Glina's Galina, or that Vukovar's Vutaks completely changed its production program after the war. Also, few people know that Knin's Gips offers some products that no one in Serbia produces, that one of the best foundries in the Balkans is in Benkovac and is now standing idle, unemployed, or that the people in Benkovac have a natural stone for interiors that is unique in the world; even under Belgrade smog conditions, it only acquires a patina after 20 years. Agroprodukt is also coming from the same city with an offer of complete satisfaction: They say that nothing tastes like their smoked ham and their famous sauerkraut, when they are washed down with sips of Benkovac wine.

According to Mr. Rnjak, his firm and the Metropol hotel, as the main sponsor, will also host people from TVIK, Vojnik's Jugoturbina, Dvor's Ceramic Works, Beli Manastir's Belje.... Jadran from Kistanje will show metal furniture, Vinarija from Ilok will show its famous wine, and its neighbors from Iteks and Razvitak will show knitted goods and construction material, while Vrelo Une will also come with chemical products for cleaning homes and furniture. Packaging producers from Knin's Mladost and representatives of Udbina's Sait have also announced that they are definitely coming, people from Korenica will remind the people of Belgrade once again about the beauties of the Plitvice lakes, and there are also prospects that the Gavrilovic people will also come from Petrinja....

In addition to looking at the Krajina products, businessmen here will also be able to hear about the problems troubling their Krajina counterparts. Each branch of the economy will get its "own" day to explain in more detail what it is offering, what kind of assistance it is seeking, and what it can offer for mutual benefit. At the same time, it will also be an opportunity for businessmen from the two republics to try together to resolve some of the state obstacles which, through provisions concerning mandatory import-export compensation and the terms for mutual payments, have greatly hindered the path of goods between Serbia and the Serbian Krajina.

Macedonia

Skopje City Assembly Elects New Mayor

LD1401230493 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Following sixteen months of inactivity the city assembly of Skopje held a session today. The old leadership was relieved of duty and a new Skopje mayor was elected. It is Goran Nikolovski, a deputy of the VMRO-DPMNE [main Macedonian opposition party, Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity]. Ljupco Nikolovski, a deputy of the Reformist Forces-Liberal Party was elected chairman of the Skopje executive council.

Metropolitan on Protection of Local Serbs

93BA0441D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 92 p 9

[TANJUG article: "Metropolitan Jovan: 'We Are Obliged To Protect Our Believers'"]

[Text] *The SPC [Serbian Orthodox Church] had to respond to the requests of the Serbian people in Macedonia, who want to belong to their Serbian patriarchate, Mr. Jovan emphasized.*

"By not accepting the decision of the SPC synod on returning to the canonical order, the representatives of the Macedonian Autocephalous Church are exposing themselves to great dangers and unpleasantness," Zagreb-Ljubljana Metropolitan Jovan stated yesterday.

In connection with the latest decision by the SPC synod on establishing administrators for the Skopje diocese and the Zletovo-Strumica and Ohrid-Bitolj eparchies, Metropolitan Gavrilo of the "Autocephalous" Macedonian Church recently stated that "that decision was

unjust and insulting, and that he did not believe that the Serbian people would accept it."

"I am surprised by this reaction by Mr. Gavrilo, since by its unilateral decision, not recognized by anyone, to declare itself autocephalous back in 1967, the Macedonian Church violated the canonical order, unity, and synod nature of the Orthodox Church," Metropolitan Jovan said.

He emphasized that the SPC now finally had to respond to the requests of the Serbian people in Macedonia who want to belong to their Serbian patriarchate. "We are obliged to protect our believers and the numerous Serbian shrines in that republic," Metropolitan Jovan said.

Also recalling that the Macedonian Church achieved its independence "with the aid of the state and politicians," Mr. Jovan emphasized: "Although they had more autonomy than any of our churches, they nevertheless arbitrarily declared their autocephalism, which has not been recognized by a single Orthodox church to date.

"We tried, for the sake of peace, to solve this problem painlessly. We offered to accept autonomy, but they not only adhered to their decision on autocephalism, but also founded new eparchies without authorization and even accepted a civil court. That is incomprehensible for the Orthodox Church; specifically," Metropolitan Jovan explained, "they have introduced the practice that an individual in the clergy can be judged by a civil person and not by a church court."

That the decision to declare autocephalism is completely illegal is also indicated by the fact that the Greek Church considers the Macedonian eparchy to be vacant, the Metropolitan stated.

"Furthermore, viewed historically, the Macedonian eparchies formerly belonged to the Constantinople patriarchate, which assigned them to the Serbian Church. If the Macedonians continue to resist these decisions and canons, the church lawyers will have work to do, because this has to do with the disintegration of the church and issues of patriarchal relations," the Metropolitan said.

Asked how the SPC would implement its decision to establish administrators in Macedonia, the Metropolitan said, "If the state authorities in Macedonia want to be democratic, then they have to respect the rights of the Serbian Church."

"We are not seeking the property that was built in Macedonia after they gained autonomy and the property that they received from the state. The old Serbian memorial institutions and churches cannot belong to them, however. If they do not agree to the synod's decision, then this is already a case of not respecting religious rights and democracy," the Metropolitan explicitly stated.

Foreign Mediation Between Local Ethnic Groups

93BA0358A Skopje PULS in Macedonian 3 Dec 92 p 13

[Report by Mirce Tomovski: "Winds From The Hague"]

[Text] *It is still unclear whether the "trilaterals" (Albania, the EC, and Macedonia) are engaged in talks or discussions on interethnic problems and whether they will come out with some documents as a result. One thing has been agreed upon: a new census!*

The German Ambassador Gert Arens [chairman of the special working group on Kosovo], whose colleagues share similar responsibilities for the other parts of the former Yugoslavia, will unquestionably be considered a superexpert in unraveling interethnic relations not only in Europe but anywhere else in the world after the completion of their "missions." They have gained a variety of experiences from the wealth of the Yugoslav ethnic landscape, ranging from the trip taken in a personnel carrier by his colleagues for holding meetings in Sarajevo to discussions held by Mr. Arens in "peaceful" yet unrecognized Macedonia and, as in the good old times, in Ohrid at that! It is being said that Mr. Arens also has a special feeling for Macedonia, which he visited for the first time some 30 years ago, during his student years, and he subsequently returned. He has retained from that time a good impression of Macedonian hospitality. That is perhaps the reason for his patience in "brokering" talks between the Albanians and the Macedonian Government and his belief that "in Macedonia interethnic problems can be resolved peacefully."

The trip of his working group and the contacts with the state leadership and discussions with members of parliament and representatives of the parties represented in parliament and with Albanians and Serbs, and the extensive press conference and discussion with the Commission on Foreign Policy and International Relations of the Macedonian Assembly, have shed greater light on the trilateral discussions. Mr. Frckovski, the minister of internal affairs, stressed that such meetings are neither "secret" nor are they to be considered "discussions!"

According to Mr. Arens, the reason for the contacts is the numerous complaints and letters that Albanians from Macedonia have sent about their treatment, as well as his meeting and discussion with Nevzat Halili and a representative of the Macedonian Government in The Hague. Last June the trilateral discussions began on the basis of the Hague document, particularly its second part, which deals with human rights and the rights of ethnic and national groups and the special status granted to autonomous areas. A list of issues was approved as well: changes in the Macedonian Constitution, use of the Albanian language, problems related to education, information, the special status of the Albanians in Macedonia, and so forth. One of the problems on which "both sides" and the "broker" have agreed upon is the need for a new census that would determine the real number of Albanians living in Macedonia. According to the government, Albanians account for 21 percent of the total

population. According to representatives of Albanian ethnic parties, they account for 43 percent! The census would be held under international supervision and with international economic assistance. It has not taken place so far, as Mr. Arens stressed, because of "your misfortune—nonrecognition!" Otherwise, the German ambassador would link the results of the census to the special status as stipulated in the Hague document!

According to the complaints of the Albanians, there is nothing in the Macedonian Constitution that addresses their complaints and interests, for its orientation is national rather than civil and requires amendments. According to the arguments that were brought forth in the course of the discussions and contacts, Mr. Arens believes that the Constitution nonetheless remains the framework for resolving the problems, for it includes a wide range of democratic institutions which make it possible to find a way to resolve the problems of human rights of ethnic and national groups. However, he does not consider heretical in the least some constitutional amendments, for this is being done also in the French and German Constitutions, following the Maastricht vote. In connection with the use of the language in education, he believes that a bilingual system must be applied for the most important documents and administrative proceedings, using the language in which the instruction will take place, citing as examples the cases of English and French schools in Germany. The demand for the spelling of names in identity cards and passports and the transcription of names in the native language of the various ethnic groups is widespread civilized practice. This was another item discussed by the "brokers," the Albanians, and the government, but it was rejected by parliament. The demand of a one-hour program in the Albanian language, according to Arens, should be considered and supported, bearing in mind the fact that Albanians account for one-fifth of the Macedonian population.

According to Tomislav Stefkovski, the representative of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity], the Constitution most clearly defines the rights of ethnic groups, based on global and European standards, and the Albanian population count as indicated is not accurate. He considers the nonrecognition of Macedonia to be destabilizing, leading to war in Macedonia, while the complaints voiced by the Albanians to the European countries and the world he interprets as a planned strategy for the creation of a Greater Albania in various stages, such as granting the status of nation, autonomy, and unification with Albania. The Albanians who have infiltrated Macedonian space, according to the views of the VMRO-DPMNE, are not accepted as partners in discussions on internal matters, but according to Stefkovski good relations between the Macedonian and Albanian people are a guarantee for stability and coexistence, as required by the Constitution.

In expressing his readiness for the resolution of problems in Macedonia, Muhamed Halili considers international assistance to be very useful. However, he is dissatisfied with the results of the work of the individual groups. Halili, who in fact shares the other complaints voiced by the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] and the NDP [National Democratic Party], stresses the attitude of the other representatives in parliament, who observe the rules of ethnic affiliation and, on that basis, have rejected the declaration of equal status of Albanians in Macedonia as well as other documents and laws. As an illustration of unequal treatment, Halili mentioned the nonimplementation of the principles of the Hague document on the special status of Albanians in Macedonia (which he described as a multiethnic community), or the implementation of civil and national rights based on the conclusions of the Badinter Commission. He considers the adopted citizenship law to be conflicting with such conclusions. His answer to Stefkovski is that the Albanians are not a destabilizing factor. On the contrary, their purpose is not the creation of a Greater Albania. The VMRO-DPMNE is accused of having a pro-Bulgarian orientation and of pursuing a policy of the unification of Macedonia with Bulgaria. The biggest problem, as Halili sees it, is the Constitution, for which reason it should be amended.

Ljupco Popovski, of the SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia], has asked that the reasons be made public for the slowness of the working group in dealing with specific issues on which no agreement can be reached. He wants to know whether the reasons lie in the excessive demands of the Albanian representatives and their unconstitutional behavior.

To Zoran Krestevski, member of the Liberal Party, the basic problem is the nonrecognition of Macedonia. He believes that the view of the Badinter Commission is particularly significant in terms of the correctness of the policies pursued by the parliament, consistent with the Constitution, which both on the European and global levels standardizes human and ethnic rights and, in that sense, sanctions the status of various national and ethnic groups. Krestevski cites several specific examples of the use of the Albanian language, the education of the Albanians, and so on. His comment in connection with the request for local self-government is the existence of a need to develop a concept of governmental administration and processes of deconcentration and decentralization within a society with an emphatically expressed civil orientation.

As far as the Socialist Party is concerned, whose spokesman is Kiro Popovski, the Macedonian Constitution is a civil constitution that includes all the rights and freedoms contained in the KEBS [Collective European Defense and Security System] and that, in this connection, European experts on such problems were consulted.

Stojan Andov, the chairman of the Assembly, considers the present Constitution a framework for the implementation of the stipulations of Title 2 of the Hague document in connection with human rights and the rights of ethnic and national groups. It is a good foundation for avoiding the types of conflicts that have broken out in other parts of the former Yugoslavia. In that context, Andov believes that an end must be put to attacks against the Constitution. There must be discussions among the parties and groups of assemblymen on the various problems, and the proper political atmosphere for their resolution must be established. He calls for focusing efforts on practical solutions and for greater public openness in the work of the group, thus avoiding the risk and threat of war.

Arens agrees that the problems and demands of the Albanians can be resolved within the framework of the Constitution and that Macedonia has suitable conditions for resolving problems in a civilized and cultural manner. The German diplomat did not accept the remarks of Halili on the work of the group and on the documents that the latter described as "nondocuments." Such a formulation is only a paper document that is as yet to be discussed by the government and the parliament. At the news conference, Arens stressed that the discussions are not secret and agreed that they should be made even more public in the future. Otherwise, he assessed the situation of the other minorities as "good," and held discussions with representatives of Albanians supporters of the NDP and with representatives of the Serbs. However, this took place behind closed doors! Another matter of interest is the fact that once again an ethnic group such as the Turks was ignored, for which, unquestionably, a certain responsibility must be assumed by its leaders.

Although this is not a conclusion, it is worth noting the views expressed by the parliamentary Commission on Foreign Political Issues and Relations With Foreign Countries: The Macedonian Government representatives have no mandate to discuss any constitutional amendments.

Montenegro

Rise in Unrestricted Weapons, Violent Crime

93BA0445A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 31 Dec 92 p 5

[Article by Branko Jokic: "Montenegrin Schoolboys Are Enthusiastically Arming Themselves"]

[Text] *There are two few policemen to protect all the schools, and the Ministry of Education finally just called upon people not to arm their children.*

From our correspondent.

Podgorica, 30 Dec—In Niksic, which has 40,600 inhabitants, there were 11 murders this year, several people were wounded while settling scores with each other, and a rather large number of murder attempts were also noted. The local policemen and representatives of the prosecutor's office have filed several dozen indictments because of violent behavior. Armed clashes, primarily among young people, the harassment of guests in public bars, and the interruption of concerts and other public events are considered in Niksic to be something quite ordinary.

The inhabitants of Niksic are convinced that they are nothing unusual, and they have also obviously already become used to such merry-making with weapons. Even murders and robberies do not upset them too much. One can see minors armed to the teeth in the streets, and it is also said that no house is safe against a break-in.

Along with all of this, it is also true that the police are not upset too much either. Police chief Veselin Pesid, an experienced policeman and former head of various special units (especially those that were sent to Kosovo), thinks that it cannot be helped much anyway. Among other things, he said, "There are so many weapons around the entire city that we cannot even come close to registering them all, much less confiscate them." He also claimed that this has happened because the laws are too mild, since those who have weapons on them are not punished strictly enough. Among other things, he told us that in just a few raids they had confiscated more than 1,000 pieces of various weapons, and furthermore individuals even had several pistols on them. To be sure, in Montenegro a pistol is considered a traditional part of one's clothing.

The police do not have enough time, they have to deal with more important matters, and furthermore they are also afraid of the violent ones. A few days ago a certain minor, at the moment that a patrol wanted to arrest him, set off a bomb. Almost all pedestrians and people visiting bars also have bombs on them. The "elder warriors" have also taught the younger ones about these matters, even those who have not yet reached 16. Furthermore, it is also very hard to catch such violent people. In fact, the criminals have better cars, and they are also more skillful drivers than the policemen.

Numerous stories are circulating about Niksic's "little criminals," which are mostly true. A boy calls his neighbor and orders him to let him have a certain amount of ham, or perhaps money for a drink. At the same time, of course, he threatens the neighbor, and the neighbor usually complies with the demand.

How tragically playing with weapons can end is also indicated by three cases that happened last week in Podgorica. All three cases involved secondary school students. At the Slobodan Skerovic grammar school, 16-year-old female student S. V. shot her fellow student, M. R., a year younger than her, in the lavatory during a recess. She allegedly shot her out of jealousy, and the doctors still fear for the life of the wounded girl. On the same day, sophomore Dragoslav Radovic was killed in the construction secondary school. He was also shot by a

fellow student during school recess. They had quarreled before this, and allegedly there was also a slap. And slaps are something that a person does not forget. The murderer was merciless: He shot Dragoslav in the temple. The day before this, 14-year-old Goran Petrovic was killed in a certain pool hall. He was shot with a pistol by the much older Perica Usancevic. A few days ago 16-year-old Aleksandar Mitrovic, in whose hands a bomb exploded, died in Budva.

Upon these events, educational workers also finally spoke out. They say that children bring weapons to school a lot, that girls are also victims of the weapons, and that the teachers often have to endure real target practices. Students with pistols shoot through the windows, or else pelt the school building with stones. It would be hard to find a school in Niksic where all the windows are still whole, and the teachers say that they do not have anyone to complain to, especially not the parents, who are often even considerably more violent than their children. The members of the security service say that they do not have enough policemen to be able to protect all the schools.

The Montenegrin Ministry of Education also finally spoke out as well, and called upon people not to arm their children. The question, however, is to whom that appeal was addressed, since there are extremely few institutions in Montenegro that would deal with the problem of juvenile crime, even though it is known that every 10th Montenegrin has a permit to bear arms.

DPS Leader on Montenegro Election Results

93BA0437A Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Dec 92 p 3

[Interview with Svetozar Marovic, general secretary of the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS], by B. Novakovic; place and date not given: "A Time for Triumph Has Passed"]

[Text] We began the interview with Svetozar Marovic, general secretary of the DPS, the party which got the most votes in the last election, as the first in a series with leaders of the new parliamentary parties. Topic: results of the election race.

[Novakovic] Does this outcome, with the knowledge that the DPS will have a majority in the parliament, make things easier, or does it imply additional responsibility for everything that happens in the future?

[Marovic] There is no doubt that in these difficult times the latter is more pronounced. Representing the majority of the interests of the citizens of Montenegro is a great responsibility, and we were also aware of it in the past two years. It is with that kind of experience that we look at the result of this election. The value of living peacefully together in Montenegro is not a concern born by the incumbent party alone. In that sense, we are counting on a more mature and responsible attitude on the part of all opposition parties, an attitude that is more beneficial to our citizens. After all, democracy does not belong to the majority alone. It is equally the property of the minority as well. There should be more to making the most important decisions than the announcement of differences. Compromises are necessary on the most important issues. In that sense, the DPS believes that this election represents another step toward forming a democratic structure.

[Novakovic] Are you now in a situation to choose whether you will share that responsibility with someone, specifically in Montenegro?

[Marovic] We have a common destiny, and responsibility belongs to everyone. The importance of the responsibility of the majority is unavoidable in any democratic society. We cannot nor do we wish to run from our responsibility. By advocating resolution of the conflicts of this time through agreement and tolerance, we will be trying to affirm the importance of collective efforts and concern for the common good. We have to live together without defeated and victors, without privileged and humiliated, without envy and intolerance....

[Novakovic] That kind of future is probably indicated by these results. The percentages, as far as the DPS is concerned, disappointed many people compared to 1990.

[Marovic] Compared to 1990, there has been a clearer political stratification of the electorate. Now that the voters have defined their political interests more precisely. By contrast with the elections two years ago, new political parties have been formed and have been attempting to express that more subtle division of Montenegro's body politic. These elections, then, have confirmed the higher level of maturity and democratic culture of our voters. Compared to the victory in 1990, the present victory of the DPS is more rational and stable.

[Novakovic] Have those who supported you earlier turned toward the nationalistic parties?

[Marovic] Probably, to some extent. Nationalism has put its stamp on this period of time. It is seductive because of its superficiality. It is full of emotions and does not require any deep thinking. It is all in flux, and it creates the illusion of accomplishment.

[Novakovic] Are there any lessons here for the future?

[Marovic] In a mature democracy, no party is expected to obtain a majority of the votes of the electorate. That would be political utopia. We must be realistic. Parliamentary life means coalitions, agreements, and compromises.

[Novakovic] Old acquaintances are entering the republic parliament. But also a new party—the Radicals. How do you interpret their sudden rise?

[Marovic] The Radicals are a party which has been operating successfully at the level of people's superficial

ethnic sentiments. It wins people over with its rhetorical exclusiveness, with its one-sided disquisitions on patriotism. This is a party of deep-felt radicalism of people who consent to it in order to create the impression of a solution to certain big internal dilemmas of their own. Regardless of the possibility of its good intentions, this is a party of conflict and division. In what it advocates, I do not recognize any effort to overcome those diseases in our lives.

[Novakovic] Whatever they may be, the Radicals have won a considerable share of the power at all levels. Does this mean that right-wing forces, nationalism, the war option have won out?...

[Marovic] Perhaps the preservation of right-wing options. That is the most disturbing. Even the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], a left-wing party, campaigned under a slogan which to some extent does not differ much from that of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS]. Some people are not voting for their future, unfortunately, and this has been affected by the stance of the international community. Some parties used this election to win over people in defense of minimum pride and dignity. Unfortunately, the election should have created the conditions for resolving many other issues.

[Novakovic] Regardless of anything else, Seselj is becoming unavoidable.

[Marovic] In public life, one must be tolerant of everyone. There are diverse figures in politics. And everyone has his own place and his own group. Some are necessary and others make themselves necessary. Nevertheless, the most important thing is to find the right measure.

[Novakovic] According to the election results, there will be no representative of the Democratic Alliance in the parliament. Can that fact be politicized?

[Marovic] The Albanians, just like other citizens of Montenegro, express themselves politically through more than one party. It is obvious that in this election they gave their votes to a sizable number of parties. This deprived any particular political party of the right to conclude that it is the exclusive representative of the interests of Albanians. In the composition of our party, there have been and are Albanians. I believe that is the case in the others as well, such as the Liberal Alliance, which to a considerable extent received their votes.

[Novakovic] You have lost power in a number of opstinas?

[Marovic] Yes, that did happen in some of them. In Tivat, for example, where no party has a majority.

[Novakovic] Did you get help from your own Grbljani?

[Marovic] I know on the basis of the results that they gave a majority to the DPS.

[Novakovic] And your own involvement?

[Marovic] They are too serious and cautious for their position to depend on individual efforts.

[Words indistinct] we warned, suspecting the danger of ethnic problems in that city, that it is extremely dangerous for two nationalisms to confront one another immediately and directly.

[Novakovic] Two?

[Marovic] They are obviously precisely formed in Tivat. One party is Serbian nationalism, which was expressed by that structure of the Serbian ethnic bloc. On the other side from that, the Social Democratic Party of Reformers agreed to be the substitute, the camouflage suit for Croatian nationalism. Now no one has a majority. They all had their say. And only now the problems are arising.

[Novakovic] The DPS also won seats in the federal parliament, in the Citizens Chamber. The SPS, SRS, and DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia] are ahead of you. Is it possible in that balance of power to defend "one's colors"?

[Marovic] I think that the DPS has made public all of its efforts in the federal parliament. We will be defending that policy of ours extremely sincerely and devotedly. The seriousness and validity of arguments is much more important than the number of deputies. Political consistency and political ethics.

[Novakovic] You have had a bad experience with coalitions. Are you thinking now about an association?

[Marovic] The DPS will think things over carefully in the parliament. It will be very cautious before it makes any decision. At this moment, neither the old coalitions nor new ones are very much of a burden or obligation for us to believe that they will be right and ideal. Our approach to this is extremely cautious, and we will make specific decisions on this, depending on the balance of power in the federal parliament, when such occasions arise.

[Novakovic] Well, there is interest already. Zoran Djindjic has declared that the Democratic Party [DS] would like a coalition with DEPOS and the DPS, and he said that there were contacts with the Montenegrin party even before the election.

[Marovic] We as a party will be open to cooperation. At this point, and also before the election, we made that openness of ours public—with all political parties and figures who want a modern and democratic FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], a government policy conducted in such a way that it will respect reality and be able to find true political measure, to preserve the political morality of our people. So far, the DPS has not made any decision, nor has it assumed particular obligations concerning future coalitions. The interests of the citizens of Montenegro will guide us in making the final decision. That decision will be made by the Main Committee of the DPS.

[Novakovic] This entire conversation, however, becomes meaningless compared to the message coming from the world these days and the way it looks upon our election. They are offering war plans prepared point by point; the distrust of everything that happens in Yugoslavia is incomprehensible.

[Marovic] I think that the international community has to a great extent contributed to this result of the election. Through its desire to interfere with the making of important decisions in our country, they have urged a natural [words indistinct] commitment to such values instead of making specific decisions on the basis of those implied values. But it is everyone's right to decide that. Unfortunately, our reality is dramatically restless with or without people to blame.

[Novakovic] But the country is responding in kind to the threats of the international public. General Panic has declared that although the decision is not in his hands, he personally feels that the Army of Yugoslavia must intervene if the Serbs in Bosnia are biologically threatened.

[Marovic] It would be a good thing for the generals to think about military decisions and leave the political decisions to the civilian authorities. Decisions of state are made by statesmen. They believe more in reason than in weapons.

[Novakovic] A word or two about that other Panic, the federal prime minister. What in your opinion is his place now?

[Marovic] He will probably make his decisions according to his own personal beliefs and needs. In a democratic society, everyone takes personal responsibility for his public acts.

[Novakovic] And where will we meet Mr. Marovic in the future?

[Marovic] In the parliament, I believe that is the most appropriate place for me.

[Novakovic] As president of the republic parliament?

[Marovic] No, as deputy in the federal parliament. I think that there I can be of interest to our party and to Montenegro.

[Box, p 3]

Support for Cosic

[Novakovic] President Cosic has declared that if the makeup of the new parliament is not disposed to constitutional changes, he will submit his resignation. Have his expectations been fulfilled?

[Marovic] I have not asked Mr. Cosic about his expectations, but I suspect them. But let him speak to that point if he considers it necessary. It would be a great pity for Mr. Cosic to submit his resignation and leave the office of president of the state. That would be a great loss to the interests of the citizens of Yugoslavia. The person of Mr. Cosic, his authority, his reasonableness, and his ability, regardless of many problems, to resolve problem after problem very patiently and by agreement—is an inestimable quality which the FRY cannot afford to lose at this moment regardless of the balance of power of the political parties in the federal parliament. I sincerely hope that Mr. Cosic will not make a one-sided decision.

[Novakovic] But Mr. Cosic is making his continuation in the office of president contingent upon support for a constitutional reform in which an important place would be given to a new relationship between the members of the FRY. He is talking about a unification of Montenegro and Serbia, but here the official statements refer to a joint state.

[Marovic] Absolutely, those are two levels of looking at presidential authority. One is the general level, the importance of a great figure like Cosic in the conduct of day-to-day policy. And that is the first level. The second level is the one which you are now opening up, the possible constitutional reforms. The DPS will not accept any constitutional reform which could contribute to destroying Montenegro's equality, which could limit its rights and jeopardize those principles of federalism that exist today. The FRY is a federal community with two constituent and equal federal units. We want the FRY to be a rational and modern federation. If certain corrections have to be made in that direction, we will support them. That will be decided by the Assembly of Montenegro.

[Novakovic] And "elimination" of the office of republic president?

[Marovic] Republic presidents in a federal community are no hindrance to federalism. Perhaps a more important question is their authority. Nevertheless, this is not a general question of federalism.

[Box, p 3]

We Will Respect the Will of the Voters of Serbia

[Novakovic] You speak about preserving the interests of the citizens of Montenegro. What in that context is your comment on the outcome of the election in Serbia? [Passage indistinct]

[Marovic] We expect the ruling political structures in Serbia, after this election, to be unambiguous in their practical advocacy and devotion to those ideals that we stand for when it comes to a joint state. Up to now, we have not gotten the impression of that kind of sincerity. What we advocate will to a great extent depend on the character of their behavior concerning the joint state. This election took a step toward establishing a different balance of power in the parliament of Serbia. We still have to see what that might mean. In any case, we will respect the democratically expressed will of the voters of Serbia.

[Box, p 3]

An Opposing Candidate From the Radical Serbian Bloc

[Novakovic] The republic presidents are now in a runoff. One is the candidate of the DPS, and the other is a member of that party.

[Marovic] No, he is not.

[Novakovic] But he was at the time of his nomination.

[Marovic] That is the past.

[Novakovic] Was that kind of rivalry necessary?

[Marovic] The DPS is a democratic party. We made the decision on our candidate for the office of president of the republic in a democratic way. Mr. Kostic is not the candidate of the DPS. He is not a member of the DPS. He made that decision himself. He took advantage of his civil right and decided between the DPS and the Serbian Radical Party.

Kosovo

Rugova Solicits Support from U.S. Officials

AU1401161293 Tirana ATA in English 0946 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 14 (ATA)—Following the visit of the president of the Republic of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, to the U.S.A., the Information Center of the Democratic League of Kosovo made the following statement:

Dr. Rugova escorted by Dr. Shaqir Shaqiri was on some day visit to the U.S.A. invited by the U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger. There he met with U.S. administration senior officials. They supported the peaceful road to the solution of Kosovo issue followed by the Albanians and their representatives. The U.S.A. unreservedly support the reestablishment of all state and social legal institutions of Kosovo, which closed down by Serbia by means of violence. The U.S. officials confirmed their profound concern over the danger of the explosion of war in Kosovo, which according to the assertions of diplomatic and military circles, would sweep over the whole region. In case the conflict will extend to Kosovo, it will also stretch to Albania, Macedonia, Greece, Bulgaria, and maybe to Turkey.

The U.S. senior officials expressed the U.S. readiness to offer humanitarian aid to Kosovo and provide economic support to it. The U.S.A. will provide permanent support to Kosovo, they stated.

Republic Leader Briefs CSCE Official

AU1401165193 Tirana ATA in English 1133 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 14 (ATA)—Referring to the Information Center of the Democratic League of Kosovo, Tore Berg, leader of the CSCE missions for Kosovo, Sandzak, and Vojvodina, met with Veton Surroi, member of the Presidency of the Republican Party of Kosovo, and Gazmend Pula, chairman of the Kosovo Helsinki Committee, while being in Pristina. They briefed the ambassador on the grave situation in Kosovo because of the Serb repression and its dangers.

Supporting the peaceful policy of the Albanian political parties in Kosovo, Ambassador Berg said he was sure of the allsided possible cooperation of the CSCE mission with Kosovo subjects.

Serbian Police Beat Clients at Prizren Restaurant

AU1401181093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] A Serbian police patrol entered the Skenderbeu restaurant in Dushanove of Prizren and beat and threatened all those present there. Later, the police raided the house of the restaurant's owner Skender Kastrati.

Abrashi: 'Most Tragic Days' in Kosovar History

AU1401164993 Tirana ATA in English 1118 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 14 (ATA)—Referring to the newspaper RILINDJA of Kosovo issued in Switzerland, the deputy chairman of the Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo, Azis Abrashi, at the meeting with the German Trade Unions representative, Frank von Auer, said that Serbia does not give up Kosovo because there is gold and other valuable minerals in its underground, valued by the specialists in terms of 500 billion dollars. Serbia has forcefully evicted over 103,000 Albanian workers. 500,000 members of Albanian families have no means of livelihood. Consequently 400,000 Albanians are forced to leave Kosovo and today you find them in various countries of the world. They left Kosovo forced by the Serb repression. 80,000 Albanians, who once received some social aid, get no income currently because Serbia has abolished the social institutions. It results from the ongoing analysis that around 50,000 Albanians suffer today from hunger. This happens at a time when Serbia owes one billion 700 million dollars to Kosovo.

The Serb occupiers, said Mr. Abrashi, are getting hold of the factories and mills built by the Kosovo workers during post war years. The people of Kosovo are living the most tragic days in their history, said Mr. Abrashi.

Vojvodina

'Instability' in Vojvodina After Elections

93BA0432A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 28 Dec 92 pp 17, 18

[Article by Dimitrije Boanov: "Miracle in the 'Northern Krajina'"]

[Text] *Not one party in Vojvodina feels that the early elections "calmed" political instability. Those who are disappointed are afraid of the impression that there is no longer a Vojvodina.*

Contrary to all the estimates and polls, Milosevic, the Socialists, and the Radicals won the early elections in Vojvodina. When the seats won in the Novi Sad and Zrenjanin electoral districts are added up, eight deputies from the SPS [Serbian Socialist Party] list are going to the federal parliament from the "former Vojvodina," along with six from the Radicals; four are being provided by DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia]; three seats were won by the DS [Democratic Party], RDSV [Reform Democratic Party of Vojvodina], and GS [Citizens Party] coalition; and three are on the DZVM [Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians] list. From these two electoral districts, 17 Socialists are going to the Serbian National Assembly, along with 17 Radicals, 11 DEPOS representatives, nine DZVM deputies, and two from the Democrats and Reformists.

It is interesting to note that the data on the presidential and parliamentary elections do not correspond to the results of the elections for the provincial assembly and the municipal assemblies, which took place according to a majority system. For example, of the 120 seats in the Vojvodina Assembly, the "real opposition," as they say here, has already won 59 seats, while the Socialists and Radicals, with the Citizens' group representatives close to them, took the same number (in two districts the elections will be repeated; in Titel the ballots were mixed up, and in Indija a group of refugees blocked the voting for the Vojvodina Assembly). The elections for the municipal assemblies have not been finished, because in most of the electoral districts the decisions will only be made in the second round. Just a look at the ones that were made in the first round, however, suggests the conclusion that many local assemblies will have an opposition majority.

Balance

Otherwise, of the 1,580,000 voters in Vojvodina, more than 75 percent of those registered participated in the elections, which is considered one of the few outcomes that were expected. Unfortunately, also fulfilled were the expectations of a large number of invalid ballots (there were five of them, and they were mostly complicated). It is estimated that about 5 percent of those ballots had mistakes.

Although it was not possible to obtain information about the overall result of the Milosevic-Panic duel on Vojvodina territory before this article went to press, the partial results indicate that here, that result was closer than in other parts of Serbia. For example, in the city of Novi Sad, as a typically nationally and politically mixed center, Milosevic received about 51 percent of the votes, and Panic about 48 percent. That was approximately the case throughout Vojvodina, with Milosevic faring the worst where his direct advocate and the promoter of his image was republic Prime Minister Dr. Radoman Bozovic (in the Zrenjanin electoral district).

Although it sounds like a sophistry, the view that "it is not surprising that Panic lost; it is more of a surprise that Milosevic won" has been noted here. It is claimed that Seselj did Milosevic a great service by not running himself, since if he had, in the second round we would have had a Panic-Seselj duel, with, as chessplayers would say, interesting combinations and possibilities. Now the main question in Novi Sad as well is whether Milosevic will repay Seselj with a generous coalition, or whether he will finally realize that "the child has grown too much" and has to be shortened, if that is still even possible.

Half Opposition

The main sensation in the parliamentary elections in Vojvodina is the unexpectedly high percentage of votes won by Seselj's Radicals. In the Novi Sad district, they received over 20 percent of the votes for the federal parliament, and over 28 percent of the votes in the race for the republic assembly. That very difference requires a certain explanation. Many people are already pointing out the fact that the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] was in first place on the republic list (under number one), because it was the first to turn in complete registrations. If the Radicals really did receive as much as 8 percent just because they were the first ones at the republic electoral commission's window, then that very circumstances says a great deal about the situation in the electorate, even in allegedly civilized Vojvodina.

Perhaps part of the success is also revealed in the statement by the SRS leader in Vojvodina, Milorad Crnjanin, who says that his party is "an opposition party that respected the authorities." It is thus possible that in Vojvodina the Radicals won the traditional voters "for the authorities" and also some "half opposition members." Various explanations are being heard from "democratic opposition" circles for Seselj's success in Vojvodina. According to one theory, the party in power zealously worked for Seselj's list, estimating that the outlook for ethnic cleansing in Vojvodina had aroused the basest nationalist impulses among Serbs in the province. For the time being there is no evidence that the Socialists "stole" on behalf of the Radicals, but there really is a rule that in a state of quiet interethnic war in every country, parties with clear national slants gain preference on the margins. After all, the war between nationalities in Vojvodina's immediate neighborhood

was not quiet—the cannons from Vukovar resounded throughout Backa, and no one has forgotten or will forget their muffled roar.

Also fairly widespread is the thesis that Seselj's Radicals, as a typical "party of misery and fear," bought the cream of the ideology of "communist egalitarianism" that was propagated for decades. In fact, the civil option offered too much differentiation (both of everyone individually, and of Vojvodina from Serbia), too much work, and too much freedom for those whom the city does not accept and the village does not value.

The main losers, in comparison with the preelection forecasts, are of course the Reformists, united for this occasion with Micunovic's Democrats. In the Zrenjanin district, the only RDSV [Reformist Democratic Party of Vojvodina] member who won was Dr. Tibor Varadi (and along with him, Federal Minister of Information Miodrag Perisic also got into the federal parliament). In the Novi Sad district, Dr. Dragoslav Petrovic, the leader of the Vojvodina Reformists, was the only one to win, and that was for the republic assembly (from this coalition, Democrat Dr. Miroljub Labus went to the federal assembly, and Democrat Goran Vasic went to the republic one). It is not easy to explain the failure of the Reformists, who took less than 10 percent of the votes in Vojvodina for the Serbian and Yugoslav parliaments, while polls had given them twice as much of a chance, because the campaign had worked very well for them.

Instability

Some observers think that they made a mistake by leaving DEPOS and uniting with Micunovic, who allegedly took three seats away from them. Others think that Vojvodina is dead as any sort of political entity, and that in that respect the Reformists are a party without a future, and that is confirmed by the complete defeat of Canak's League of Social Democrats, united with Dragan Veselinov's Peasants. Yet others claim that it is too early for a civil option, when there is a war in the neighborhood and on the horizon in the country itself, and when everything that is not consistent with nationalism is classified as treason. All of these serious assessments are moderated by the relative success in the provincial and municipal elections, in which the Reformists admittedly were the main unifiers of the "democratic opposition" and in which they had broader support.

With four seats in the federal assembly and 11 in the republic one in the two Vojvodina districts, at first glance DEPOS could be satisfied. Nevertheless, in view of the very aggressive campaign, this is less than was expected. It is interesting to note that observers expected a better result in the Zrenjanin electoral district than in the Novi Sad one, but the opposite happened. Where Kosunica was heading the list, they did twice as well as on Draskovic's list.

The Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians estimated itself that it had done splendidly (three seats in the federal assembly, and nine in the republic one). The president of this national group, Andras Agoston, thinks that this success indicates that they have confirmed that they are the representatives of all Hungarians in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Not one party in Vojvodina is saying that the early elections "calmed" political instability. Those who are disappointed are afraid of the impression that there is no longer a Vojvodina, and that it has been replaced by a sort of "northern Krajina." Those who won the main positions, or kept them, are not thinking anything for the time being—until their leaders reach an agreement or split up.